

MIENNONITE

Historical Bulletin

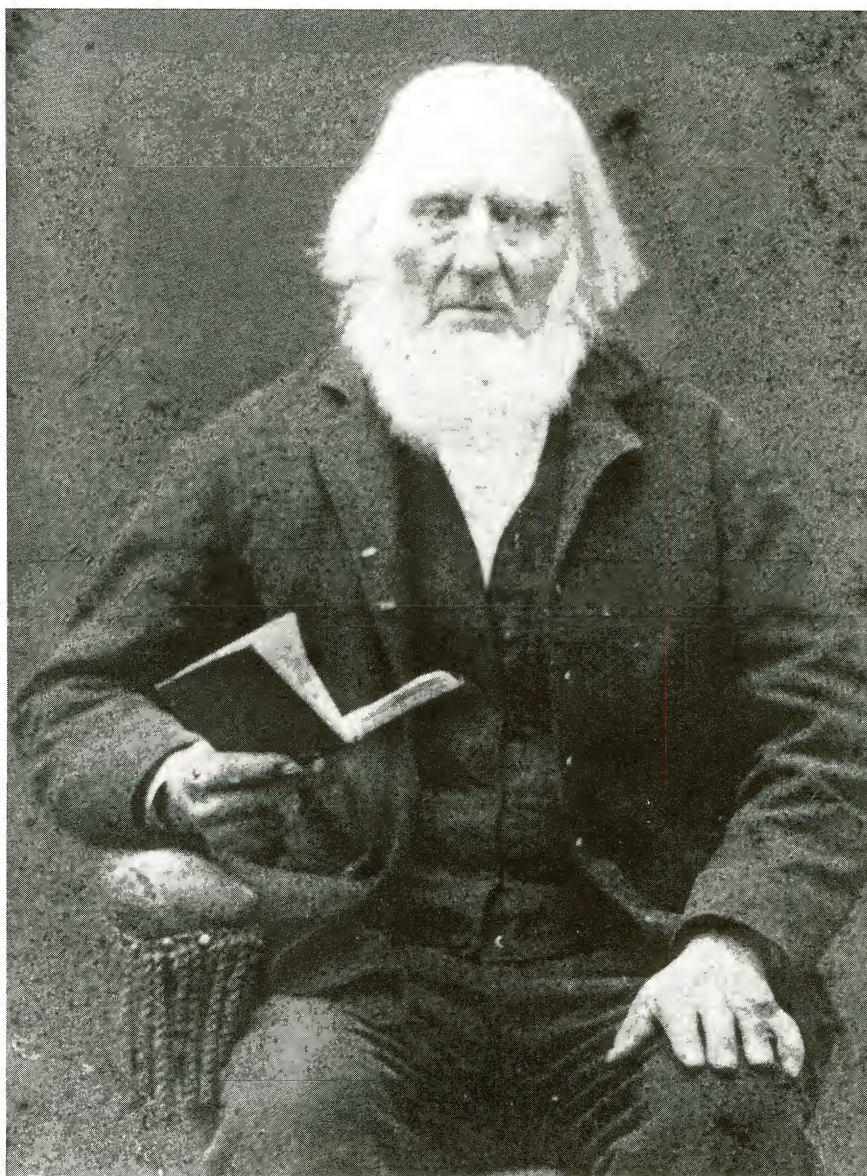
Vol. LII

January 1991

ISSN 0025-9357

No. 1

The Coming of the Amish Mennonites to Elkhart County, Indiana



*Isaac Schmucker (1810-1893), the first Amish bishop in Indiana at age 33, led what became the Amish Mennonite meetinghouse group in the 1854 division.
Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church*

By Russell Krabill

The Amish people came to Elkhart County, Indiana 150 years ago. Many of the Mennonite congregations in northern Indiana today were first Amish (or became Amish Mennonite in 1854), while others were Mennonite from the beginning.

As a result of the 1854 division in the Amish congregation, the Amish Mennonite churches in Lagrange and Elkhart Counties were Haw Patch (now Maple Grove), Clinton Frame, Forks (1857), and Nappanee. The Amish Mennonite and the Mennonite congregations merged in 1916 to form the Indiana-Michigan Mennonite Conference.

The Amish Arrive in 1841

In 1840 four Amish men (Daniel S. Miller, preacher Joseph Miller, Nathan Smeily, and Joseph Speicher) from Somerset County, Pennsylvania, made a journey to search out the western lands. We do not know how they traveled from Johnstown to Pittsburgh, whether by canal boat or by carriage. We do know that at Pittsburgh they boarded a boat which took them to Cairo, Illinois via the Ohio River. From there they continued on the mighty Mississippi River to Burlington, Iowa.

They then traveled on foot about 100 miles through Des Moines, Henry, Washington, and Johnson counties to Iowa City, which was then the capital of Iowa. This was before the Amish had settled in Iowa. For reasons which we cannot determine, they decided to turn east and explore Indiana.

They recrossed the Mississippi River and probably walked the 200

miles through Illinois. From Chicago, a small town of 4,470 people, they traveled by boat across Lake Michigan and up the St. Joseph River. By land they finally arrived at Goshen, in Elkhart County, Indiana. After inspecting the area, they were favorably impressed, and then returned to Pennsylvania.

When the brothers and sisters back in Somerset heard the good report of the flourishing region and well-to-do settlers, some of them became interested in emigrating westward. The following year, 1841, four families made preparations to move to Indiana: Daniel S. and Barbara Miller and five children (Samuel, Polly, Jonathan, Rachel, and Barbara), Preacher Joseph and Elizabeth Miller and four children (Lydia, Polly, Daniel, and Joseph), Deacon Joseph and Barbara Bontrager (Bontrager) and five children (Elizabeth, Christian, Barbara, Hansi [Johnny], and David), and Christian and Elizabeth Bontrager and two children (Lydia and Maria). Each of the four families loaded its belongings on a wagon. The group also had three one-horse vehicles.

They left Somerset County, Pennsylvania and started west. En route they visited in Holmes County, Ohio one week with Amish friends, formerly from Somerset, who had been living there for 25 or 30 years. The wagon trail took them into the state of Michigan, because the level lands of western Ohio were a black swamp. They continued through White Pigeon, Michigan, then southwest to the Indiana line where they spent their last night.

The next day they drove through Middlebury and on to Goshen in Elkhart County. They continued on three miles further south of Goshen and camped on the west side of the Elkhart Prairie, an open area south and



Original Forks meetinghouse (1863), at the LeRoy Kauffman farm in 1990 near Middlebury, Indiana. Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church

southeast of Goshen. The trip from Pennsylvania had taken 26 days, from June 3 to June 29, 1841.

The Amish settlers lived on the edge of the Elkhart Prairie for several years in small log cabin dwellings. Other settlers had arrived before them and had laid claim to the coveted prairie land. The prairie was choice farm land and did not need to be cleared as did other parts of the county which were more heavily forested. The woods were populated with deer, wolves, and other wildlife, including an occasional bear.

The Amish settlers soon discovered that the prairie land was too expensive for them and began looking for forest land. Joseph Miller and Joseph Bontrager each bought 80 acres in Clinton Township in eastern Elkhart County, while Daniel S. Miller and Christian Bontrager went ten miles north and bought homesteads in Newbury Township in Lagrange

County, near the place known as the Forks.

In October of 1841, Emanuel Millers moved from Ohio to Lagrange County and Isaac Schmuckers, Jacob Kauffmans, Israel Millers, and Jonas Hochstetlers moved to Elkhart County. Around this time the settlers held their first worship service in the Daniel S. Miller home. The next meeting was held on Easter Sunday, March 27, 1942. They had the service in the home of preacher Joseph Miller in Clinton Township with 14 members attending. After that they had regular services every two weeks.

On February 2, 1842, the first Amish child of the settlement to survive was born to Joseph (Sep) and Barbara Bontrager. He was named Eli and was later to become an Amish minister and bishop. Settlers began arriving steadily, with Somerset County people settling mostly in Lagrange County, and Holmes

The Mennonite Historical Bulletin is published quarterly by the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church and distributed to the members of the Mennonite Church Historical Association.

Editor: Levi Miller; Review editor: Steven D. Reschly; Design: Randall Horst; Contributing editors: Janeen Bertsche Johnson, Sandra Cronk, Jan Gleysteen, Leonard Gross, Amos B. Hoover, Russell Krabill, Glenn M. Lehman, Joseph Liechty, Steven Nolt, John D. Roth, Ervin Schlabach, John E. Sharp, Dennis Stoesz, Gerald Studer, Wilmer Swope, Marilyn Voran; Historical Committee: Rafael Falcon, Merle Good, Albert Keim, James O. Lehman, Hope Kauffman Lind, Steven D. Reschly, Samuel Steiner, Carolyn C. Wenger; Subscription and membership: Boyd Nelson.

Dues for subscription membership in the Mennonite Church Historical Association (\$10 annual), inquiries, articles, or news items should be sent to the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church, 1700 South Main, Goshen, IN 46526. Telephone (219) 535-7477, FAX (219) 535-7660.

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in Historical Abstracts. Microfilms of Volumes I-L of the Mennonite Historical Bulletin are available from: University Microfilms, Inc., 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

County, Ohio people in Clinton Township of Elkhart County.

The Schism of 1854

In 1843 Isaac Schmucker from Ohio became the first Amish bishop in Indiana. In the spring of 1844, Jonas Hochstetler was the first person to be ordained as a minister in Indiana.

In 1845 differences of opinion regarding rules and regulations of the church resulted in a schism. Both groups did not feel right about the ill feelings generated by the controversy and so asked a committee from Ohio to come and settle the dispute. Moses Miller, Peter Gerber, and Jacob Coblentz mediated between the two groups and the church was able to unify again in 1847. However, because of the large size of the congregation it was agreed to divide the church into two districts, the one being in Clinton Township in Elkhart County and the other in Lagrange County.

Still, the differences persisted, and in the spring of 1854 there was a definite schism between the conservative and the more progressive elements in the Clinton congregation. There were four primary issues: 1) clothing; 2) serving in worldly occupations; 3) toleration of business enterprising; and 4) schooling. Contentions arose basically as a result of the differences between the attitudes and practices of the stricter Amish from Somerset County and the more progressive Amish from Holmes County.

The Ohio group, led by Isaac Schmucker and Jonas D. Troyer, formed what became the Amish Mennonite Church. They established three congregations, Maple Grove, Clinton Frame, and Forks, and soon built meetinghouses. The Old Order Amish group, led by Bishop Joseph Miller, has thrived to this day, especially in Lagrange County.

What About the Native Americans?

Elkhart County once belonged to the Native American Potawatomi tribe. Not too many years before the Amish came, the Elkhart Prairie was dotted with their wigwams. The Elkhart and St. Joseph Rivers were their fishing streams and the surrounding woods their hunting grounds. There were several villages along the Elkhart River; one within the

Elkhart County Amish Mennonite History

Goshen, The First 150 Years, 1831-1981, The News Printing Company, 1981.

History and Biographical Record of Elkhart County Indiana, Anthony Deahl, 1905.

History of Elkhart County Indiana, Chas C. Chapman & Co., 1881.

A History of the First Settlers of the Amish Mennonites, Hans E. Bontreger, 1907.

Indiana Amish Directory, Eli E. Gingerich, 1980.

Jonathan P. Smucker, Paton Yoder and Silas J. Smucker, 1990.

The Mennonites in Indiana and Michigan, J.C. Wenger, 1961.

Middlebury the Town Beautiful 1836-1986, Middlebury History Book Committee, 1986.

Pioneer History of Elkhart County, H.S.K. Bartholomew, 1930.

A Standard History of Elkhart County Indiana, Abraham E. Weaver, ed., Two Vol., 1916.

Stories and Sketches of Elkhart County, H.S.K. Bartholomew, 1936.

The Yellow Creek Mennonites, J.C. Wenger, 1985.

1990 Elkhart-LaGrange Amish and Mennonites

Amish, 67 districts and 5,762 members

Beachy Amish, Fellowship Churches, Unaffiliated, 11 congregations and 957 members

Conservative Mennonite, 7 congregations, 792 members

Mennonite, Indiana Michigan Conference, 35 congregations, 6,813 members*

Mennonite, Central District, 8 congregations, 1,236 members*

*Includes 2 congregations and 266 members of dual affiliation

limits of the present city of Goshen, another at Waterford, and a larger one located further south near Benton, called Aubenaubee.

This latter village, also the residence of Chief O-nox-ee, was destroyed by Colonel John Jackson in 1812. Jackson had first gone to Fort Wayne to help drive out the natives who were attacking the settlers there. He went northwest to further flush them out, crossing the Elkhart River at Benton. He came upon Aubenaubee but found that the residents had fled, leaving their provisions behind. The soldiers burned the village and destroyed the corn which the natives had planted on the prairie.

The settlers used bartering, treaties, and force to remove the natives. On September 23, 1836 the Potawatomis signed a treaty giving up all their remaining lands in Indiana. But they were reluctant to leave their homeland for the land they had been promised west of the Mississippi River. As a last resort the military rounded them up and escorted them west. In 1840 General Brady, with a force of troops, compelled the last ones to leave. The

remnant of the Potawatomi tribe was eventually escorted into Kansas.

It was a sad trip as the children of the forest slowly retired from the scenes of their childhood. They said good-bye to the hills and valleys of their infancy. Some wept as they traveled along, some on foot, some on horseback, and others in wagons. A few escaped and turned back.

Chief Shup-shu-wano (Shipshewana) and the Potawatomi people had lived near what is now Shipshewana Lake. In 1838 they were forced to go west to a reservation in Kansas. Because the Chief became very homesick, he and a few others were allowed to return to the old camping grounds in 1839. He died in 1841 and lies buried somewhere on the banks of the Shipshewana Lake.

We do not know how the Amish felt about taking over the land which had been taken from the native peoples. Perhaps they were so busy carving out their homes in the wilderness that they did not give it much thought.

If the incoming settlers had been more congenial there might have been



Preacher Joseph D. Miller (1858-1901) and Catharine Johns (1860-1939) family of the Forks congregation. Back row: Nora, Daniel H., Clara; Front: Ira J., Joseph, Edna, Edwin, Catherine, and Perry. Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church

room for everyone and the natives could have been assimilated into the developing communities. The unfair way in which they were pushed from their home lands and their present unfavorable living conditions should give us cause for reflection, repentance, and restitution.

The Early Years

When families left the established communities and went west it was almost like a funeral. They felt that they were saying good-bye to their loved ones and friends for good. Communication traveled only as fast as a man or horse could carry the message.

For example, in about 1850 Christian Hochstetler left his wife and family at home in Somerset County and with a friend went to look for land to settle on in Indiana. While there he contracted typhoid fever and died and was buried at the home of his sister Barbara, wife of Daniel S. Miller, who lived near Middlebury. There was no way to let the family know what had happened. It was only when a friend returned to Pennsylvania, leading Christian's horse, that the wife and children learned of his illness and death.

The first thing that the Amish settlers did upon arriving in Elkhart County was to clear a little patch of ground where they could build a log

cabin and a stable. At one end of the cabin was a fireplace for cooking and heating the house. A big iron pot was hung on a crane which could be swung over the fire. When they wanted to start a fire they borrowed some fire from a neighbor or used a flint and steel. Food staples included cornbread, hominy, venison, pork, honey, beans, pumpkin, turkey, prairie chicken, squirrel, and vegetables in season.

In 1834 a flour mill was built at Waterford, south of Goshen, which had the reputation of making the best flour in the area. People came from surrounding counties, bringing provisions for a two- or three-day wait. The old Bonneyville mill in York Township, still running, was built in 1837.

Roads were widened Native American trails and during the rainy season were next to impassable for wagons. In 1840 even the Goshen main street had a number of stumps that wagons had to dodge. The Logansport Road, which originated at Logansport and went through Goshen and Middlebury to the Michigan state line, was the first road laid out in Elkhart County. It was authorized by an act of the legislature on December 29, 1830.

The pioneers forded the Elkhart River at Benton to reach the Elkhart Prairie and points northwest. By 1840 the first bridge was built, over which

Amish settlers traveled many times. In 1923 the Elkhart County Historical Society erected a marker there.

Pioneer Farming

In the 1840s the Amish probably farmed much like their neighbors. They did not protest tractors and electrical appliances because no one had such conveniences. The stiff sod was broken with wooden moldboard plows pulled by six horses or an equal number of oxen. When the ground was plowed for corn, the corn was dropped into every third furrow. Someone would drop the seed next to the unplowed part so the next furrow would cover it up.

Wheat was broadcast and harrowed in with wooden harrows. Plowing was difficult because nearly every rod the plow caught under a root and the team had to back up. The farmer had to battle gophers, squirrels, moles, and blackbirds.

Potatoes usually produced well and were stored in a hole under the cabin floor along with other vegetables. Wheat was threshed by driving horses over it and was winnowed in the wind. The first hay was marsh hay, which was mowed with scythes. The first cattle and hogs were scrubs. Bells were put on cows so they could graze freely without being lost. A man named Modi, who built a cabin and blacksmith shop on what was called Waterford Road, made and sold cowbells. His shop was located on what is now Main Street in Goshen, about two blocks north of Goshen College.

Trading was a common form of commerce. When people went to do a day's work they usually took a bag along to hold their wages. Food was abundant. Milk was plentiful, eggs were available in the spring, and maple sugar and wild honey were common articles. Fruit trees produced apples, pears, and peaches, and wild game supplied meat for the table.

In the early years, farmers who produced more than they needed faced the problem of getting their goods to market. But commerce increased when the railroad came to Elkhart in 1851 and to Goshen the following year.

Shopping Centers

The Amish settlers of Clinton Township had several trading points.

Fort Wayne, about 65 miles to the southeast, was the largest town for banking and other business. Incorporated in 1840, by 1850 it had a population of 4,282, quite large for the Midwest at that time. With horses it took several days for Elkhart County people to make a round trip visit. Nearby Middlebury, six or eight miles to the northeast, was laid out in 1836 and incorporated in 1868.

In 1836 the settlement had a blacksmith, a wagon maker, a post office, and a doctor. Goshen, a few miles to the west, was platted as the county seat in 1831 with a population of about 180. By 1839 it had about 600 residents, and about 1400 by 1854, when the village was incorporated. Already in 1837 there were eight stores, several groceries, two taverns, and, as an early history noted, "one or more of almost every description of mechanics and professional men." By 1841 there were two newspapers, and the Amish settlers depended on Goshen and shopped there.

Before the railroads came, Benton was also a rapidly growing town. Located 1 1/2 miles southeast of the Elkhart Prairie and only a few miles southeast of Goshen, it was laid out in 1832. By 1837 the Goshen Express (March 4) stated that, "Benton is the name of a village that being touched by the magic wand of improvement has sprung into existence the past sixteen months It contains at present, two stores, several groceries, one public house, a number of mechanics, and one physician." By the time the Amish settlers arrived it had a post office, a sawmill, a schoolhouse, and a Baptist church. But the railroads came to Goshen and not to Benton; Goshen grew and Benton declined.

Conclusion

For the most part the Amish settlers in Elkhart County lived apart from the general population. They did business with them and were good neighbors. But they did not participate in the politics, community functions, or celebrations of the day. They probably paid little attention to the big Fourth of July celebration which was held in Clinton Township in 1844, in a grove several miles northeast of Millersburg. They did not participate in the county fair, which began in Elkhart County on October 11, 1841.


Itinerant preachers who delivered messages in schoolhouses came into

House built in 1848 by Joseph Miller. Miller was the Amish bishop who led the Old Order group in the 1854 division of the Elkhart Amish Mennonites.
Photo: Russell Krabill



the area. There were Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Lutherans, and Catholics in the community, but they belonged to the "English" society and were therefore viewed from a distance. How much the Amish were aware of the German Baptists (later named Church of the Brethren) who began to settle west of Goshen in the 1830s, we do not know.

Our guess is that they related to their "worldly" neighbors 150 years ago in much the same way that the Old Order Amish do today.

We owe much to these early Amish pioneers who, though they did not do everything perfectly, took their faith seriously, as indicated by the schisms that they went through. They tried to be faithful to their Lord as they understood His teachings. They are still a challenge to us today in the steadfastness of their convictions. 

Russell Krabill, of Elkhart, Indiana, is historian for the Indiana-Michigan Mennonite Conference.

Church History and Social History

By Janeen Bertsche Johnson

Few Mennonites would question the claim that understanding Anabaptist-Mennonite history is crucial to maintaining our identity. But what is the best way to tell that history? Recent discussions among Mennonite historians have raised these questions in relation to two approaches to history: church history and social history.

In the context of Mennonite studies, the church history approach can be characterized as that which emphasizes the normative theology (the basic beliefs) of Anabaptists and Mennonites. History is then told within the framework of those essential beliefs.

The social history approach, on the other hand, is more concerned with

the variety of historical experiences which Mennonite groups and individuals have faced within their particular societies. The social history approach tends to be more descriptive, while the church history approach is more prescriptive.

Mennonites of the Swiss/south German/colonial American tradition have tended to favor the church history approach, while Mennonites of the Dutch/north German/Russian tradition have felt more akin to the social history approach. An Anabaptist vision school of church history in the forties and fifties has been complemented by recent Anabaptist studies taking a social history approach.

As a Mennonite pastor and historian who falls somewhere in between these two traditions (my

home congregation is made up of 1870s Swiss Amish immigrants who eventually joined the General Conference Mennonites), I believe that the church history and social history approaches need to be held together more intentionally.

In actual practice, most historians do include aspects of both approaches, but often we tend to emphasize one approach over the other. I believe that unless we hold church history and social history together, we risk losing our effectiveness as caretakers and promoters of our heritage.

If we ignore social history and focus primarily on church history, we are in danger of defining our criteria for Mennonite belief and practice too narrowly. In sixteenth-century studies, for example, we may set aside those leaders and groups which don't fit the "mainstream" of Anabaptism according to our interpretation.

But our interpretation of Anabaptism may be so subjective or idealized that we misrepresent actual history. On the other hand, if we emphasize social history exclusively, we will discover many important fragments of the Mennonite experience, but it may be difficult to see how the pieces fit together.

In other words, we need the social history approach to be true to our diversity, and we need the church history approach to be true to our unity. This is especially true as we look beyond the preservation of our old traditions. We face the tasks of assimilation, integration, and identity formation.

Assimilation

To explain the history of Mennonites to people coming into our tradition from other social and religious backgrounds poses a challenge both for the social history and the church history approaches.

We cannot expect newcomers to understand or even show interest in the distinctions between the Mennonites of Prussian or Palatinate background. In general, those who choose to join the Mennonite tradition will be more attracted to the common theology presented by a church history approach than by the cultural diversity emphasized by a social history. (One exception is that newcomers want to know the difference between the Amish and the Mennonites.)

As a pastor, I explain Mennonites to

new members and questioners primarily in terms of our common beliefs and history. But at the same time, I do not try to force all Mennonites into one mold. I know many people who have joined a particular Mennonite church because of an attraction to their lifestyle or witness who were greatly disappointed when they discovered that not all Mennonites live or believe the same way. We are not being fair to our new members if we allow them to see only the unity and not also the diversity among Mennonites.

A further issue in relation to assimilation is the need for us to expand our own conceptions of Mennonite ethnicity. More and more of us are realizing that there is no such thing as a "non-ethnic Mennonite." Each person coming into our tradition has an ethnic heritage. The problem with most social history is its omission of all peoples who don't fit either the "Swiss" or "Russian" categories.

A church history approach will have greater potential to describe a global Mennonite identity, I believe. And yet, we must be careful to find a normative understanding of Mennonites which "rises above ethnic particularities and peculiarities."¹ It cannot be an understanding which one group of Mennonites imposes on all other groups; it must be arrived at in conversation between Mennonites of various backgrounds.

Integration

My second concern is in how we use history to facilitate or impede merger between the Mennonite Church and the General Conference Mennonite Church. It is time to move past partial truths and stereotypes when we depict the history, beliefs, and practices of various Mennonite groups. If we are serious about moving toward integration, we must portray our histories accurately and inclusively.

A part of the process will require more care in explaining how the two conferences were founded and what influences have shaped their lives during the last 150 years. It is not accurate to say the General Conference Mennonite Church was a split from the Mennonite Church. Nor is it adequate to characterize the difference between the two conferences as "Russian versus Swiss" or "liberal versus conservative." Social and church history approaches will both be needed to accurately detail the differences and similarities between and within the two traditions.

Inclusivity means that we will not ignore the history, beliefs, and practices of Mennonite groups other than our own, unless we make it clear that we are describing only one group. For example, one Mennonite visitors' center includes a statement about Goshen College being the first Mennonite institution of higher education. That statement is inaccurate, unless it would be

Church History

American Mennonites and Protestant Movements, Beulah Stauffer Hostetler, 1987

"Anabaptist Vision and Mennonite Reality," John H. Yoder, Consultation on Anabaptist-Mennonite Theology, 1970.

The Anabaptist Vision, Harold S. Bender, 1944

Becoming Anabaptist, J. Denny Weaver, 1987

Jan Gleysteen's "Our Mennonite Legacy" slide presentation

Social History

Anabaptism: A Social History, Claus-Peter Clasen, 1972

The Life and Thought of Michael Sattler, Arnold Snyder, 1984

Mennonite Experience in America Series, **Land, Peity,**

Peoplehood, MacMaster, 1983; **Peace, Faith, Nation**, Schlabach, 1988, **Vision, Doctrine, War**, Juhnke, 1989

"From Monogenesis to Polygenesis," Stayer, Packull, and Depperman, **Mennonite Quarterly Review**, April, 1974

None but the saints: the transformation of Mennonite life in Russia 1789-1889, James Urry, 1988

reworded to say "the first Mennonite Church institution of higher education."² More critically, however, the statement ignores General Conference Mennonite history. Wadsworth Institute, Halstead Institute, and Bethel College were all founded before Goshen College.

Identity Formation

As we move into the 21st century, Mennonites will find it increasingly difficult to be inclusive in telling their history. Those who present the story will need to be careful not to confuse theology with cultural distinctives. We will need to acknowledge that the unique and important tenets of Mennonite faith, such as discipleship, nonresistance, nonconformity, and service, can be expressed in a variety of ways.

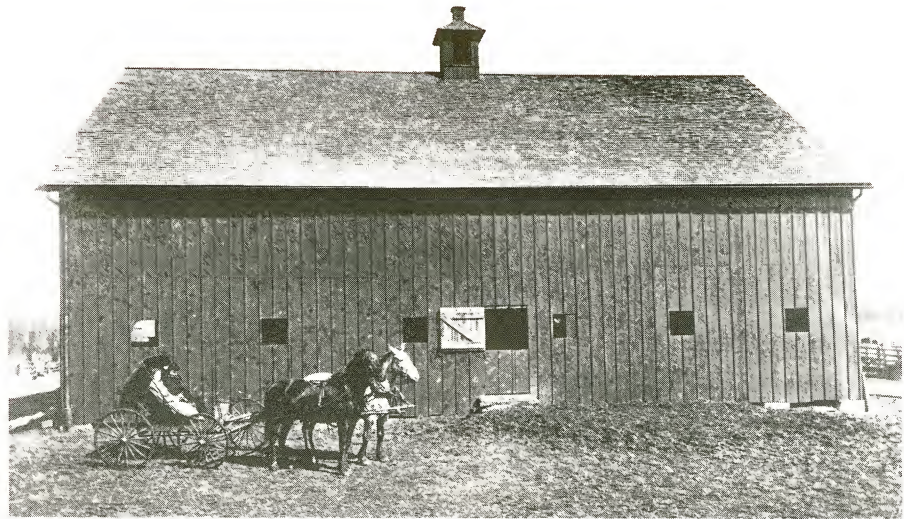
The social history approach will help us to see that diversity. But beyond an awareness of our plurality, we will also need to have a clear vision of our unity. What is it that binds Mennonites from different backgrounds and different continents together? The church history approach will be necessary in order to define these norms of global Mennonitism.

The challenge facing us is both difficult and critically important. In order to define and perpetuate our identity as Mennonites, we will need to pay attention to our unity as well as our diversity. In short, we must hold together the two approaches of social history and church history. *✠*

Janeen Bertsche Johnson, of Wichita, Kansas, is associate pastor at the Lorraine Avenue Mennonite Church.

¹ Rodney J. Sawatsky, "Beyond the Social History of the Mennonites," in *Mennonite Identity, Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* (New York: University Press of America, 1988), 107. For a recent statement on social history see: Werner O. Packull, "Between Paradigms: Anabaptist Studies at the Crossroads," *Conrad Grebel Review*, Winter 1990, pp. 1-22.

²Tim Lichti, director of the Menno-Hof Amish Mennonite visitor center in Shipshewana, Indiana, has noted that the statement is being revised. November 6, 1990.



The Christian Sutter barn, built near Hopedale, Illinois in 1868, as it appeared in 1900. Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church

Travels in the Land of Smith

The Illinois Mennonite Historical and Genealogical Society

By Levi Miller

Central Illinois was a center of Amish Mennonite life in the mid-nineteenth century, and its descendants are healthy and keeping the memory alive today. In September, I traveled in historic Mennonite Illinois, from Metamora south to Normal and then to Arthur. These notes and reflections are reported with the hope of giving some feeling for the history of the area, especially the churches, and the living people doing history today.

My hosts and guides from Normal were Thomas and Hazel Yoder (Tom edits the Illinois Mennonite Conference's *Missionary Guide*) and Myrna Slagell Park, who chairs the genealogy and program committees of the Illinois Mennonite Historical and Genealogical Society. The reason for going was to take in the Heritage Days event, held at the Mennonite Heritage Center near Metamora September 21-23, and to see the Sutter barn, whose raising was commemorated with a worship service in the middle of July—

somewhat lost in all the news coming out of Winnipeg, Manitoba, that month.

The Mennonite Heritage Center is a large plain reddish-brown building, located two miles west of Metamora, which houses an archives, historical library, museum, and meeting area where the Friday evening musical program was held. It was a variety program, including everything from Mennonite families playing fiddle music, with everyone joining in on "I'll Fly Away", to a string quartet doing Brahms.

This area was originally settled by Alsace and Loraine Amish in the early 1830s. The center is located about a mile east of the location where the Partridge Creek congregation built its first meetinghouse in 1854, and a stone commemorative marker can be seen at the spot. Congregational life moved east of town and is presently reportedly going strong under the banner of the Metamora Mennonite Church, 239 members.

The president of the inter-Mennonite historical society is Edwin

(Jack) Stalter. The society and center are a tribute to the altruistic efforts which historical projects can inspire. The \$150,000 building on eight acres and program are run by an all-volunteer staff with no budget. Hazel Hassan, formerly a professional librarian in Rockford, runs the library from her home near Goshen, Indiana. The Illinois Conference historian is Carolyn Nafziger of Hopedale, but the society includes several other branches of the Mennonites as well.

Many supplies, books, and materials come from the staffers' own pockets, and much of the revenue from annual contributions, membership dues, offerings, and the festival is poured back into the society's indebtedness. This is presently at about one third of the original amount and, as might be expected, is the source of some discomfort.

Sitting behind the Heritage Center is the Christian Sutter barn, which sheltered the 1875 Amish Mennonite ministers' meeting near Hopedale. This was the 14th gathering of these annual Dienerversammlungen which will be described in some detail in Paton Yoder's new book on the 19th-century Amish, *Tradition and Transition* (Herald, 1991).

The handsome barn, which Tom Yoder describes as Dutch style, has the main open area running the length of the barn with the gable—unlike the typical Swiss Pennsylvania German bank barn, which generally has side

entrances. Plans are to turn the barn into an agricultural museum.

At the festival, videos were shown of the July, 1989 barnraising and also the July 15, 1990 worship featuring Ausbund hymns and Steven R. Estes' meditation on obedience.

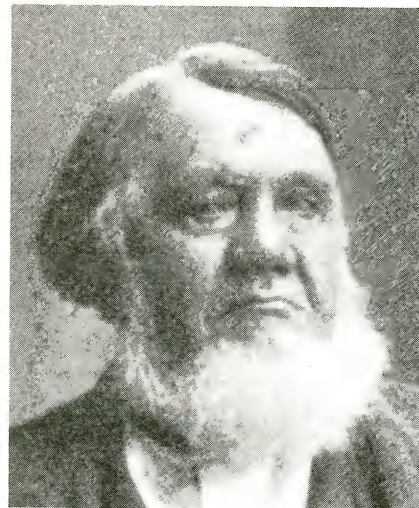
Estes is pastor of the Boynton Mennonite Church in Hopedale, archivist at the Heritage Center, and a prolific historian. He has written congregational histories of North Danvers (*A Goodly Heritage*, 1982), Metamora (*Living Stones*, 1984), and Meadows (*From Mountains to Meadows*, 1990), and numerous essays for the society's journal *Illinois Mennonite Heritage*, edited by V. Gordon Oyer at Champaign. Estes' tribute to 19th-century Amish Mennonite ministers was a celebration of the Christian obedience which is inherent in Mennonite belief. It is a measure of Estes' competence and commitment that some Illinois State University classes are using the archives for study.

This is Abraham Lincoln territory, and for Mennonites, it is also Smith land. We visited the old Metamora Courthouse where Abe Lincoln argued cases for the ten years he served on the Eighth Judicial Circuit. It is now a state museum filled with Lincoln lore. Our visit made all the more poignant by PBS television's outstanding Civil War documentary, shown for five nights the following week.

Native historical son C. Henry Smith even claimed Lincoln for the Mennonites: "I was wont to claim that the Illinois rail splitter was of Mennonite as well as of Quaker stock," he said in his autobiography *Mennonite Country Boy*. But later in life he "ceased to make this claim" for lack of evidence. The oral tradition, however, carries many stories of Mennonite encounters with Lincoln in the 1850s.

Smith, whom Harold Bender called "the greatest of historians produced by the Mennonites of America" was born on a farmstead a few miles east of Metamora in 1875. Only a chicken coop is left of the original buildings, but Smith has immortalized the area with his descriptions in *Mennonite Country Boy* (Faith and Life, 1962). His nephew Willard Smith, of Eureka, wrote the definitive history of all Mennonite groups in the state in *Mennonites in Illinois* (Herald, 1983).

On Saturday, while driving past



Joseph Stuckey (1826-1902), leader at North Danvers. Photo: Mennonite Historical Library

soybean and corn fields between Metamora and Normal, we passed many of the meetinghouses where Mennonites still worship along the Mackinaw River. One hundred fifty years ago, it was the Rock Creek settlement, at that time, with five congregations, the largest Amish community in America. Here bishop Jonathan Yoder (1795-1869) would become one of the best-known Amish leaders in North America, serving as a promoter of the mid-century Dienerversammlungen. (Myrna Park insists that Yoder's traditional image of of strictness is overstated.)

It was here also that Joseph Stuckey (1826-1902) ran afoul of the main body of Amish Mennonites over tolerance of free-thinking poet Joseph Joder. Eventually, Stuckey's followers would join the Central District Conference of the General Conference Mennonite Church.

The first Amish meetinghouse in Illinois was built at Rock Creek in 1853, a few miles north of the present North Danvers Mennonite Church building. The congregation's second white clapboard meetinghouse was built in 1872, and is now encased in a brick building, which has been added onto with a matching educational and fellowship section. Inside, Irene Risser showed us the well-kept records of the congregation from its beginnings, including Joseph Stuckey's notebook recording the over 250 marriages he performed in his lifetime.

On Sunday, I worshiped with the Mennonite Church at Normal, where



Mennonite historian C. Henry Smith claimed the "Illinois rail splitter" for a while. Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church

Tom Kauffman and Evelyn Bertsche were preaching a series of sermons on the Ten Commandments and the worship leader was Gerlof D. Homan. Homan is a professor of history at Illinois State University and has just finished a book-length manuscript on Mennonites during the First World War.

In the afternoon I went south to Arthur, where, the weekend earlier, the Arthur Mennonite Church had commemorated its 50th anniversary. The present pastor is Wayne D. King, son of the first pastor, Henry J. King (1891-1981), whose 20 years of service brought these Amish people into the Mennonite orbit. The Mennonite conference tie had been with J.A. Heiser and the East Bend Mennonite Church near Fisher, Illinois.

Orva S. and Fern Helmuth were among the 57 charter members on September 15, 1940. Orva has kept the church records since that time, writing a history booklet on the 25th anniversary and another on the 50th. Most of the Amish here, however, did not join the Mennonites. There are 18 Amish church districts and 2,300 adult members whose main vocation, aside from farming, is clearly



Hazel Hassan, librarian of Illinois Mennonite Historical and Genealogical Society. Photo: Dennis Stoesz

cabinetmaking. Orva, who was my guide in Arthur, estimates that the community has over 125 Amish-owned shops and small businesses.

As in most of the rural Illinois communities, one senses some loss of the youth going to college, university, or service and not returning to their community of origin. But some happy

exceptions exist. Wayne and Clara King, whose ministry had taken them to Ohio and New York City, are back to share their experience with Christ and the Holy Spirit in their home community.

At nearby rural Arcola, I also met Dannie Otto, a University of Toronto philosophy student in medieval studies. Otto, it turns out, has a wife who grew up in Japan and wanted to join him on the family farm. He's taking his turn at farming, parenting, and finishing his dissertation while his wife works at the University of Illinois in Urbana. October 1, 1990 *DL*

Noah G. Good: History Rooted in Family and Church

By Glenn Lehman

Who would name a child Noah? When you talk to 86-year-old Noah G. Good, the name seems like a good enough idea.

Born in 1904 in the northeastern part of Lancaster County, Noah remembers carrying a lamp to bed and living without telephones. Now, with his ham radio, he talks about messages sent by the Explorer spacecraft from four and half light-hours away.

"There are so many changes in a short life," he says to me. "I'm staggered."

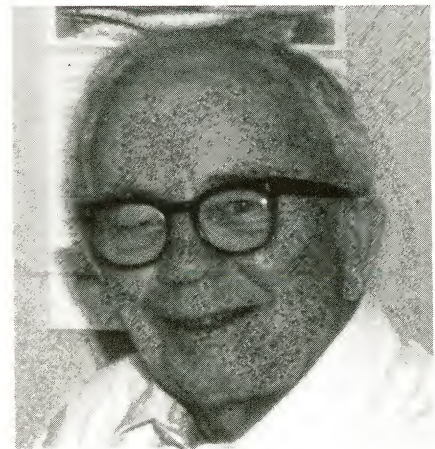
He has suggested that we meet at his desk at the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society where he works about three days a week. He sits at a manual typewriter he bought new in 1957. His plain coat is hung over his chair.

"Some of the changes in church life I accepted slowly," he says to me, looking back into his memory. "There was a time you couldn't teach Sunday school if you didn't wear a plain coat."

We pause. "Now I'm not sure you could if you did," I volunteer.

He smiles. "I grew up thinking dragonflies, or snake doctors, were poisonous."

I remember Noah as my dean at Lancaster Mennonite School when I graduated in 1962. He was already a venerable institution there, a pioneer from when it opened in 1942. Before that he had intended to become a missionary doctor, and Orie Miller had arranged a lab assistantship at Goshen College. But his parents were skeptical of that school. Unable to finance medical training, he studied history, guidance, and social studies at the



Noah G. Good. Photo: Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society

University of Pennsylvania. School administration and teaching became his major career. But all along he served the church as a minister.

His interest and work in history started, though, even earlier. "Our family felt you were a poor soul if you

didn't like history," he tells me. "I remember Father taking me to the local graveyard and pointing out family and church history." Family and church—those small units too often overlooked by historians who depend on the goodwill of huge institutions—were the locus of his conversion to history.

The deacon of the Gehman Mennonite Church, his home congregation, gave him his first assignment in historical work. It was a practical matter—translate the deacon book into English.

"The language change was attended by some tension," he recalls. "Some thought that German was more beautiful. But when German was used too much, some young people went to the anteroom and cried loud enough to make a scene." Noah's first language was Pennsylvania German. "I rather enjoyed bilingualism," he says.

Between the two world wars, he translated hundreds of letters from CARE packages, and his languages grew to include French, Spanish, Dutch, and German.

In your later years of life, how does history look, I ask him.

"At the university I had a great interest in how canals and railroads affected industrialization. Now the mechanics of culture interest me less than the spiritual values," he replies. "History is new every day."

Knowing that he was what is now known as a church planter back in 1922, I ask him how the present grand gesture to church growth affects history.

"Some people come into the church more excited about our history than we ourselves are."

"Being an amateur historian, what could you wish for the professional ones?" I ask.

"The way Robert Kreider spoke recently about CPS in layman's language, yet keeping it historically valid, will keep us useful to each other."

Noah, in his retirement years, works with the Lancaster Conference's historical program. He has collected oral history, participated in the research for the Lancaster Conference history which his former student John Ruth recently completed, and is writing a series of stories in *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage* about Henner, a farm hand in Noah's youth.

But his greatest involvement is translation. Currently he is revising the Muddy Creek records from 1744 to 1893—the same project his deacon gave him 70 years ago.

After I photographed him in his garden (where he got 12 bushels of potatoes this year), I stopped in at the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Library. There, after Merle Good and Minnie Good, I found his name. Twenty-three cards started with his name at the top—translations, curriculum, and articles.

Seventy years ago Noah was a young teenager who was tapped by his elders to do a historical project. Surrounded by family and church with love for history, his lifetime of commitment to history grew out of that congregational trust. Do we ask teenagers today for historical tasks?



Glenn Lehman is editor of the Lancaster Conference News and director of the Table Singers.



Dirk's Exodus

Bethel College of North Newton, Kansas, premiered historian James C. Juhnke's drama Dirk's Exodus September 27-30, 1990. The drama is based on the Dirk Willems story in the Martyrs Mirror and was directed by Arlo Kasper. In the photo, the inquisitor (Rod Epp) questions Dirk Willems (Aaron Rittenhouse) in prison, just after Willems has baptized the wife of the jailkeeper. The wife (Cher Unruh) and the jailkeeper (F. Scott Thrift) look on. Photo: Larry Bartel



Binding and Loosing at Bethany

By Dirk Eitzen

The Silence at Bethany is a dramatic film that portrays in a thought-provoking and remarkably even-handed manner the "silencing" of a young Mennonite pastor in a small congregation in the 1940s. The film was televised nationally in 1988 and 1989 as part of the PBS series American Playhouse. Unfortunately, the film is not in distribution and there are no plans to distribute it, although it may air again on American Playhouse. Because the program is not in distribution, it may be considered "fair use" to videotape the program for private use or church libraries.

The Silence at Bethany was written, produced, and directed by Hollywood filmmakers Joyce Keener, Tom Cheron, and Joel Oliansky, respectively. A number of Mennonite scholars served as consultants for the production, including John L. Ruth, Theron Schlabach, Shirley Showalter, Nevin Miller, and John A. Hostetler.

Because this is one of the very few representations of Mennonites in popular culture (if, indeed, public television can be called popular culture), it is interesting to reflect on how Mennonites are portrayed in the movie. It is also interesting to see how an outsider deals with issues and concerns that are still important to Mennonites—the tension in tolerating diversity and change while maintaining some sense of community.

One has come to expect non-threatening minorities to be portrayed in the movies as quaint or picturesque. Partly this has to do with the long-standing fascination for moviegoers of the exotic or strange. Partly it has to do with the visual emphasis of movies. The only differences that can easily be portrayed in films are outward differences.

There is, almost inevitably, a tendency toward quaintness in The Silence at Bethany. One gets the sense that what characterizes Mennonites of the 1940s, above all (besides their "peculiar" garb), is a cappella four-part singing, there being much more in the movie than is strictly required by



Wedding day at the bride's home in "The Silence at Bethany": Ada Mitgang (Ann Wilcox), Sam Mitgang (Dakin Matthews), Jake Nissley (Paul Hartel), Pauline Mitgang (Susan Wilder), Dorcas Nissley (Suzanne H. Smart) and Ira Martin (Mark Moses). Photo: Charles Minsky

the narrative. A few scenes of Mennonite life also come off as precious or cute, especially in the first part of the movie.

On the other hand, it is nice to see that there is a deliberate effort to counteract this tendency. Keener, the screenwriter, says that she tried very hard to avoid romanticizing Mennonites, "adorable and darling... like the Waltons, only better." Things are shown not to be always either as idyllic or as exotic as they might be imagined. The opening scene has a Mennonite farmhand causing an accident by being drunk. In another scene, a couple of young Mennonite women discuss the value of "necking" for wooing a man. When one of the girls does get married, her father gives her a lace negligee as a present.

These scenes seem to be calculated to remind viewers that, underneath those plain clothes, Mennonites may not be so different from other folks after all. As a matter of fact, there may be a few genuine differences about Mennonites in the 40s that the movie unintentionally suppresses. The Mennonite courtship portrayed in the movie looks suspiciously like the familiar Hollywood representation of a typical old-fashioned romance,

complete with kissing on the porch swing. My own sense, from talking with Mennonites of that generation, is that courtship was for most a considerably more strained and constrained affair. Keener says that she scripted scenes of more typical group dating, but they had to be cut to shorten the film.

The overall mood of The Silence at Bethany, as Keener readily admits, is one of nostalgia for the close-knit community represented by the Mennonite congregation in the film, despite its evident authoritarianism. The protagonist of the film winds up leaving the congregation on account of its obdurate disciplinary practices. Nonetheless, one gets the sense that it was these very practices that knitted Mennonite congregations into communities and gave them their strong sense of identity. Perhaps so. It is, in any event, a fairly positive view of our tradition of "binding and loosing" (Matthew 18:18)—especially remarkable in view of the many Mennonites who regard this tradition as completely repressive and divisive, one to be left behind.

What is most provocative and perhaps most "authentic" in this movie is its depiction of a crisis in a



The first test of Church discipline, Sam Mitgang (Dakin Matthews) convinces Ira (Mark Moses) to give up his convertible.
Photo: Charles Minsky

Mennonite congregation. A farmer has set himself up in the dairy business with the help of a substantial bank loan. The local creamery requires that he deliver milk on Sunday. The conference bishop, portrayed as a conscientious and sympathetic man, but stubborn and very sure of his convictions, bans the farmer from communion until he refrains from selling milk on Sundays.

The young minister of the congregation, the bishop's protege and the husband of his niece, takes the side of the farmer. He points out that there is little difference between milking on Sunday, which many members of the congregation do, and putting the milk out on Sunday for the creamery to pick up. The bishop responds, "If we change the way we live according to which way the wind blows, what will become of us?"

The young minister refuses to yield and provokes a controversy at a ministers' meeting, for which the bishop "silences" him, forbidding him to preach or take communion until he publicly repents. Neither the young pastor or the bishop is willing to back down, despite the attempts of distressed family members to persuade both to do so—even after the dairy farmer sells his cows and goes into chickens. Finally, after searching his conscience, the pastor withdraws from the congregation and leaves the community.

Keener wrote this particular screenplay because her parents used to be Mennonite and left the church when she was very young as the result of a conflict somewhat like this one.

The most remarkable thing about this movie is that, although the crisis is

portrayed in part as a clash of wills, the movie makes clear that there are also deeper social issues involved. There is the conflict between tradition and change, the opposition of group discipline and personal freedom, the tension between conviction and compromise.

The movie presents these issues in a meticulously non-judgmental manner. There are no villains, just good, principled people (even if a bit too headstrong) who wish to be true to their consciences and their community. The crisis is triggered not by personal grievances or pettiness, but by social and economic changes that affect the whole community and that are beyond the control of any of the film's protagonists.

Recent Mennonite history is full of painful episodes like the one portrayed in *The Silence at Bethany*. Yet it is surprising how rarely we confront them or appraise their historical significance. Congregational histories are too often merely a chronicle of celebrations and special events, like family photo albums. We prefer not to dredge up the moments of crisis because they are painful, embarrassing or not completely resolved.

But we need to remember and reassess the traumatic moments in our collective past as well as the happy ones. Many of the underlying tensions are still with us—the tension between tolerance and discipline. And that, I believe, is the real value of this film for Mennonite viewers. *D*

Dirk Eitzen is doing graduate studies in film at the University of Iowa.

Book Reviews

Ambassador to His People: C.F. Klassen and the Russian Mennonite Refugees. Herbert and Maureen Klassen. Winnipeg: Kindred Press, 1990. Pp. 261. \$19.95.

In this book Herbert and Maureen Klassen tell the story of Herbert's father C.F. (Cornelius Franz). They draw on their personal memories, and quote liberally from correspondence, articles, and Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) records. Klassen's is a remarkable story of a man who served his people in the USSR, Canada, and Europe until his death in 1954.

The chronicle includes C.F.'s activities with Soviet officials after the Bolshevik revolution, his activities in facilitating Mennonite emigration to Canada, his work for the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization to pay for the refugee travel debt, and his feverish post-World War II MCC service to Russian Mennonite refugees in Europe.

The book would have been strengthened by being more critically analytical. Still, *Ambassador to His People* provides not only sympathetic insight into a truly remarkable person, but also a window into the tragic and dramatic refugee events of the 1920s and 1940s. It tells the story not only of the ambassador, but also of his people.

John Friesen, Winnipeg, Manitoba

Balthasar Hubmaier, Theologian of Anabaptism. Translated and edited by H. Wayne Pipkin and John H. Yoder. Scottdale: Herald Press, 1989. Pp. 608. \$39.95.

Fasten your theological seat belt for a bumpy, invigorating ride through Reformation polemics. This first complete English translation of Hubmaier provides a vivid profile of beliefs for which Anabaptists lived and died. Hubmaier was the ablest writer among early radical reformers, commanding attention from theologian and non-specialist alike.

Dismissing those who baptize infants as "child washers," Hubmaier underscored three major themes: adult baptism, the Eucharist as memorial symbol, and the church as a disciplined fellowship. It is difficult to categorize Hubmaier since he challenged opponents among Catholics, Zwinglians, and fellow Anabaptists. Taking on prominent Catholic theologian John Eck, he called himself "the fly" addressing "the elephant."

Hubmaier played a dangerous game on several fields. Once under torture he recanted—only to reclaim radical theology during his public "confession." He unsettled nonviolent reformers by insisting that Christians could serve in government and use force in that capacity. "If government is so unchristian that a Christian cannot use the sword, why do we help and support it then with our taxes?" he asked. Hubmaier was executed in 1528.

Thirty-two well-translated works appear in this volume, each with a

succinct introduction and critical notes. This new addition to "Classics of the Radical Reformation" lives up to the series title.

J. Nelson Kraybill, Richmond, Virginia

The Deserter. Robert Koch. Scottdale: Herald Press, 1990. Pp. 304. \$7.95.

This novel is a variation on the theme of the prodigal son. During the Civil War, twenty-four-year-old Joseph King rejects his Mennonite upbringing and enlists in the Union Army. Wounded after only two months, he struggles with his conscience and, amid conflicting emotions, deserts. While in solitary confinement in Washington's Old Capitol Prison, he rediscovers New Testament teachings about peace.

A notable character in the novel is Benjamin King, Joseph's father, a maverick pioneer who during the antebellum years left Pennsylvania for rural Michigan and started a church. Benjamin King's staunch opposition to war kindled discord within his family and prompted the disintegration of his little congregation.

This intriguing community conflict, however, appears only as background for the rather predictable story of Joseph's transformation from soldier to servant. Robert Koch's *The Deserter* is sentimental fiction that explores one man's crisis and redemption, but fails to penetrate the ethos of nineteenth-century Mennonite nonresistance.


Rachel Waltner Goossen, Goessel, Kansas

Spots on My Trousers: The Life and Loves of a Mennonite Minister, J. Irvin Lehman. Edited by Martin W. Lehman. State Line, Pa.: Mennonite Historical Association of Cumberland Valley, 1990. Pp. 100. \$6.50.

J. Irvin Lehman, farmer, preacher, and teacher of Franklin County (Chambersburg), Pennsylvania, was born in 1895 and died in 1985. He never moved from his home community. His ministry and influence were prominent from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, to Harrisonburg, Virginia. During the last decade of his life, he wrote a collection of autobiographical short stories which were later edited and collected in this volume by Martin Lehman, one of his two sons.

The stories are of nature, nurture, horticulture, Christian faith, spiritual

struggles, Mennonite church fights, pastoral sacrifice, aging, and reluctant retirement. The reader feels the passage of time as the author moves from youthful vigor to wondering about senility. Lehman's strong personality comes through his pen with a touch of independent pride carefully tempered by a strong desire to credit God for any accomplishment.

Robert L. Hartzler, Belleville, Pennsylvania 

Recent Publications


Graber, Roberta (Mrs. Harry), Comp., **John Liechty (1825-1895) & Catherine Yoder (1831-1903) & Their Descendants.** Pp. 356. Order from author, 314 Road 191, West Liberty, OH 43357.

Hochstetler, Dan A., Comp., **Daniel J. Hochstetler & Barbara C. Miller and Their Descendants from 1842-1990.** Pp. 644.

Miller, Wayne, **Footprints of Noah and Deemy Yoder.** Pp. 286. \$9.25. Order from author, 29110 Nixon Drive, Harrisburg, OR 97446.

The Preheim Family Record 1845-1990. Pp. 263. Order from Mrs. Shirley Waltner, 723 S. Poplar St., Freeman, SD 57029.

Rarick, Vivian Short, **More Raricks: an Addition to the Genealogical History of the Descendants of Conrad Rarick and Henry Rarick and Others.** Pp. 360.

Shearer, Loda R., **The Shearer Family 1800-1988: Descendants of John and Elizabeth Shearer of Lancaster County.** Pp. 42. \$4.75. Order from author, Rt. 2, Box 112, Mt. Joy, PA 17552. 

Mennonite Church Historical Association



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Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church
1700 S. Main Street, Goshen, IN 46526.

News and Notes

"The Mirror of the Martyrs," an exhibit based on the rediscovery of 23 original **Jan Luyken** martyr plates, opened at the Kauffman Museum in North Newton, Kansas, in September. The rediscovery of the plates has also engendered a book (**The Mirror of the Martyrs**, Good Books, 1990) and a limited-edition printing of some of the plates. The exhibit remains in Kansas until March, moves to Goshen, Indiana, for the summer of 1991, and then will be shown in Mennonite and Brethren communities and other communities with linkages to the martyr tradition. For information on showings or hosting the exhibit, contact Robert Kreider of Bethel College, North Newton, KS 67117 or John Oyer of Goshen College, Goshen, IN 46526.

Harry A. Brunk, Sr., Virginia Mennonite historian and genealogist and Eastern Mennonite College history professor from 1925 to 1963, died August 16, 1990, at the age of 92. Brunk was author of the two-volume *History of the Mennonites in Virginia* (1959, 1972) and published two editions of the *Harmonia Sacra*.

C. Arnold Snyder, professor of history at Conrad Grebel College in Ontario, has been named editor of **Conrad Grebel Review**, "a journal of Christian inquiry." The Spring, 1990, issue features reflections of the neo-Anabaptist scholars of the fifties who published a series of "Concern" pamphlets.

A. James Reimer, Conrad Grebel College theologian, will give the keynote address at a conference on "Christian Doctrine and Mennonite Values" at the Laurelville Mennonite Church Center near Mt. Pleasant, Pennsylvania, February 15-17, 1991. Other speakers include Carl Keener, Sharon Spiegel, and Michael A. King.

Raymond P. Brunk (Box 98, #1 King Street, Dayton, VA 22821), a nephew of the Brunk revivalists, George II and Lawrence, has collected over 225 of these 1950 Mennonite tent meeting messages. Brunk's aim is to remind older and future generations of the "power of God in the Brunk revivals" and will send his tape library catalog to inquirers.

"**Mennonites and Alternative Service in World War II**" (May 30-

June 1, 1991, at Goshen College) is a conference which celebrates the 50th anniversary of Alternate Service in the USA and Canada. A variety of scholars will read papers, many of which will eventually be published in **Mennonite Quarterly Review**, the sponsor of the conference. For more information contact John S. Oyer, Goshen College, Goshen, IN 46526.

The CPS story of conscientious objectors during the Second World War will be the focus of the Historical Committee's participation at the **Mennonite Church General Assembly**, July 30 to August 3, in Eugene, Oregon. There will be seminars, late evening storytelling, and displays. The Historical Committee is also sponsoring a luncheon meeting of the Mennonite Church Historical Association at this event.

Jan Gleysteen continues to take his "Our Mennonite Legacy" slide show to many parts of North America and the world. In order to keep supporters informed of his programs, Mennonite Publishing House publishes an occasional newsletter of Gleysteen's thoughts and travels. To get it write to Heritage Keeper, 616 Walnut Avenue, Scottdale, PA 15683.

The Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society is growing and needs more space and two million dollars for building and endowment. Director Carolyn Charles Wenger said that as of September 6, 1990, they had \$1,467,326.35 pledged or on hand.

Galen R. Horst has been named administrator of the Germantown Mennonite Church Corporation, the site of the first permanent Mennonite settlement in America (1683).


Alva Mast, from the Pleasant View Mennonite Church near Winesburg, Ohio, has been named director at the Mennonite Information Center at Berlin, Ohio.

Glenn Lehman and the Table Singers of Lancaster, PA, are involved in another series of heritage concerts. Their newest cassette release is from **Life Songs No. 1** (\$8 and postage from Board of Congregational Resources, 2160 Lincoln Highway E., Lancaster, PA 17602). Glenn is presently working on some J.D. Brunk (1872-1926) music, and then will head back to 19th-century spirituality concerts of Ein Unpartheyisches Gesang-Buch.

Lawrence Klippenstein convened a meeting of 45 historians at Mennonite World Conference in Winnipeg, Manitoba, July 27, 1990. There was some interest in studying the Mennonite story from a world-wide perspective on a topic such as the Second World War or the 19th-century Mennonite experience. For notes on the meeting and a list of participants contact Klippenstein at Mennonite Heritage Centre, 600 Shaftesbury Blvd., Winnipeg, Manitoba R3P 0M4.


The 1990-91 **John Horsch Essay Contest** is receiving entries, from high school to seminary and postgraduate level papers. For information, contact Levi Miller, Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church, 1700 South Main, Goshen, IN 46526.

The Mennonite Historical Society, Goshen, Indiana, has begun a major study of the "**Life and Times of Harold S. Bender**." Albert N. Keim, professor of history at Eastern Mennonite College, is director, chief researcher, and writer, and Theron F. Schlabach of Goshen College is editor. The project will begin with collecting oral history.

Correction: The following lines were missed from "Mennonites in North America Before 1683," October 1990, p. 7. The quotes came from *Religion in New Netherland*, by Frederick J. Zwierlein (Rochester, NY, 1910, 372 pp.). Zwierlein at the time was Professor of Church History at St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, NY. This volume was brought to Leonard Gross' attention by Wilmer D. Swope, Leetonia, OH. 



Kai Feng, China, 1947

Voluntary Service workers under Mennonite Central Committee at Kaifeng, China, in the summer of 1947, including the Russian Mennonite refugees from China, and MCC staff personnel from Akron, Pennsylvania. Front row (from left): Verna Zimmerman (black dress), June Straite, Maria Wiebe, Frances Sommer, Inez Diener. Back row (from left): Wayne Yoder, Harold Wik, Mary Ann Karber, Bob Waltner, Bert Lind, Titus Lehman, Glen Graber, Grace Eichelberger, John Z. Friesen, Ralph Sommer, Vera Yoder, Ruth Fisher, Maria Schellenberg, Clayton Diener, Orie Miller, A. E. Kreider, Kyle Reed, Victor Maier holding Alimina, Eddie Schrag, young man (?). Young children in back row (from left): Jacob Schellenberg, (?) boy, Alfred Maier, Peter Goosen and Elsa Goosen. Photo: Aaron and Marie Herr Collection, Archives of the Mennonite Church 

Archives of the Mennonite Church

By Dennis Stoesz,
Archivist

What follows is a sampling of recent acquisitions to the Archives of the Mennonite Church in Goshen, Indiana.

Beck, Ervin, Goshen, Indiana. Photographs, dated 1934-89, of Amish and Mennonite paintings on glass, or wall mottoes, in Elkhart and Lagrange Counties in northern Indiana. 1 inch; 133 color and black and white photographs. Donor: Ervin Beck.

Buckwalter, Ralph and Genevieve, Goshen, Indiana. Tape recordings, dated 1956, of Vespers Male Quartet at Goshen College, Goshen, Indiana, and at Elmira, Ontario, as well as recordings from some other quartets and from a choir. Three tapes. Donor: Genevieve Buckwalter.

College Mennonite Church (1903-), Goshen, Indiana. Records, dated from 1942-84, include mostly correspondence, minutes, reports, programs, and notes on the various activities of the church from 1970-80. 60 inches. Donor: Pat Kauffman, College Mennonite Church.

Forks Mennonite Church (1857-), Middlebury, Indiana. Church records, dated from 1897-1949, which include the minutes of fifty-two annual business sessions, 1897-1947, and the deacon's diary of Malvin P. Miller, 1942-1949. Two church record books, totalling 1 3/8 inches. Donor: Eugene Bontrager and V. Pauline Yoder, Forks Mennonite Church.

Herr, Aaron and Marie, Goshen, Indiana. Photographs and a videotape, dated from 1946-49, showing their time of voluntary service with Mennonite Central Committee's relief efforts in China. 1 videotape, about 40 minutes, and 43 black and white prints. Donor: Marie Herr.

Indiana-Michigan Mennonite Conference (1854-), Goshen, Indiana. Records, dated from 1980-84, include correspondence, minutes, and reports on the operation of the Conference office. 45 inches. Donor: Sherm Kauffman, Indiana-Michigan Mennonite Conference.

Mennonite Board of Missions (1881-), Elkhart, Indiana, Health and Welfare Department, Kenneth H. Schmidt, Director. Records, dated from 1967-87, include correspondence, minutes, and reports including files on Adriel School, Bob Wilson Memorial Hospital, Puerto Rico Mennonite Hospital, Kiowa Community Hospital, Lebanon Community Hospital, and files on abortion. 52 inches. Donor: Kenneth H. Schmidt, Mennonite Health Services.

Mennonite Church General Board (1971-), Elkhart, Indiana. Records, dated from 1981-83, include mostly correspondence on the operation of this General Board office when Ivan

Kauffman was General Secretary and Wayne North was Associate General Secretary. 75 inches. Donor: Eloise Glick, Mennonite Church General Board.

Mennonite Publication Board, Mennonite Publishing House (1908-), Scottdale, Pennsylvania, Periodical Division, Daniel Hertzler, Director. Records, dated from 1969-88, of the Periodical Division which was responsible to publish up to six periodicals. 15 inches. Donor: Daniel Hertzler, Mennonite Publishing House.

Shenk, Stanley C., Goshen, Indiana. Diary, dated from February-May 1990, contains personal reflections and entries of day-to-day activities as written down by Shenk, Goshen College Bible professor, 1965-85. 3/4 inches. Donor: Stanley C. Shenk.

Swope, Wilmer D., Leetonia, Ohio. Hymn texts, poetry, correspondence, and historical materials, dated from June-August 1990, as written and collected by Wilmer D. Swope, Mennonite historian and poet. 1/4 inches. Donor: Wilmer D. Swope.

Yake, Clayton. F., (1889-1974), Scottdale, Pennsylvania. Personal correspondence, dated from 1911-22, from H. F. Reist to C. F. Yake, who was at Lititz, Pennsylvania and then West Liberty, Ohio, and who became Editor of Youth Christian Companion in 1920. 3/8 inches. Donor: Ed and Ethel Metzler, Goshen, Indiana.

Yoder, John H., Elkhart, Indiana. Papers, periodicals and photographs, dated from 1918-88, regarding C. Z. Yoder (1845-1939), relief work in France after World War I, forms to fill out for conscientious objection to membership in labor unions, MCC work in Europe from 1949-1951, American Mennonite student conference in Europe in 1958. 3/4 inches. Donor: John H. Yoder. *Y*

Mennonite Historical Bulletin
Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church
1700 South Main Street
Goshen, IN 46526-4796
Telephone 219 535 7477
Forward and Address Correction

Non-profit
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MENNONITE

Historical Bulletin

Vol. LII

April 1991

ISSN 0025-9357

No. 2

Mennonite Historical Writing Over the Past 40 Years: Reflections

By John S. Oyer



1525 Peasant's War drawing from the chronicle of Abbot Jacob Murer of Weissenau, Germany: "Mennonites have turned Anabaptists into social and political radicals." Was this interpretation that of the sixties, or of the sixteenth century? Photo: Mennonite Historical Library

A. In the past 15 years Mennonite historiography¹ has grown so large that no one can fully keep up with it. Fifteen years ago Goshen College's Mennonite Historical Library annually could find no more than 250 books to acquire in Mennonite studies, including family histories. By 1985 that number had quadrupled.

B. Mennonites' perception of their own history's importance to them is the most remarkable change of all. Forty years ago many Mennonites still held the earlier attitude that Christians who studied their own history violated some unselfconscious humility. Religious-minded folk should study Scripture only, or else they denied Christ's primacy in their lives—a respectable view still held by the Amish. More recently some Mennonites tend to overuse it, relying on the religious ancestor as absolute model for Christian life now, a view that may tax that model and the academic disciplines that nourish it beyond what it can support.

Mennonites and Anabaptists before them used Scripture as the center of their life and thought. Of course, Catholic church and regional traditions and mores influenced them, often heavily. But it was generally some fresh reading of Scripture that directed their changes in thought and practice, then fixed those practices into patterns. Most basic changes that they made were grounded, they thought, in Scripture, including their 17th and 18th century pietistic bent that Robert Friedmann deplored. Scripture ruled, but always Scripture interpreted in specific ways.



Harold S. Bender, Goshen College historian, "knew he was being revised."
Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church

More recently Mennonites have recognized the historical circumstances under which their ancestors, in whatever century, made their decisions about scriptural interpretation. Why did they choose to emphasize *sola caritas* instead of *sola fide*, or discipleship instead of justification by faith, or nonresistance and small community instead of a continuation of a marriage of church and state? History became necessary—to learn important things about ourselves as one segment of God's people.

C. Anabaptist studies have become respectable in the opinion of scholars and religious leaders outside Mennonite affiliation. The field has moved from a Reformation sideshow to share center stage. Why?

(1) Anabaptist ecclesiology may fit our present secular age better than

traditional Protestant or even Catholic ecclesiology.

(2) The Anabaptist emphasis on ethics is attractive to those people for whom society has lost its moral bearings. In our day, these moral practitioners of the Reformation appeal, even to some secularists, as that larger movement's most attractive representatives.

Mennonites should not suppose that the field has become massively popular. Obviously most Protestant leaders prefer their own Reformation models. To many educated layfolk the supreme model of Anabaptism remains MÅnster, a foolish humor since MÅnsterites were only negatively exemplary to other Anabaptists. But they were not as evil or crazy as Mennonites have thought. Anabaptists are no longer despised, nor is the study of them disdained in academic circles. That is progress indeed.

D. One of best changes in the larger field is the rise of vigorous national and regional Mennonite historical associations. The French and Swiss Mennonites have replicated the Mennonite historical associations founded much earlier by the Dutch and Germans. Each of these four organizations fosters a program of research and publication. They excel at arousing interest among Mennonites in their Anabaptist and recent Mennonite history as a way of understanding and appropriating those unique biblical understandings that are our common heritage.

Canadian Mennonites have created their own historical associations, enriching Mennonite studies with scholarly investigation in other disciplines more fully than Mennonites anywhere else. They publish a large number of monographs about

themselves, and collaborate with American Mennonites on common publication interests.

In the United States, Mennonites have revived one older (Lancaster), and created several new (Illinois, Eastern Pennsylvania, West Coast) regional historical societies. Each has collected manuscripts and books, but also folkart and other Mennonite and Amish artifacts. Their publications reflect an increasing scholarly sophistication, but their greatest virtue is that of inspiring their own people, much beyond mere antiquarian interest.

Basic Changes in Interpretation of Anabaptist History

A. Scholars have challenged the validity of the Anabaptist vision as an adequate means of characterizing Anabaptism, more frequently indirectly than directly.

Harold Bender had posited: (a) discipleship, following Jesus in life and under the cross, as the essence of Anabaptism; (b) a new church with voluntary membership, separated from the world and therefore small; (c) love and nonresistance as applicable to all human relationships. Some observations:

1. If one wishes to use Anabaptism as paradigm, then the vision requires revision:

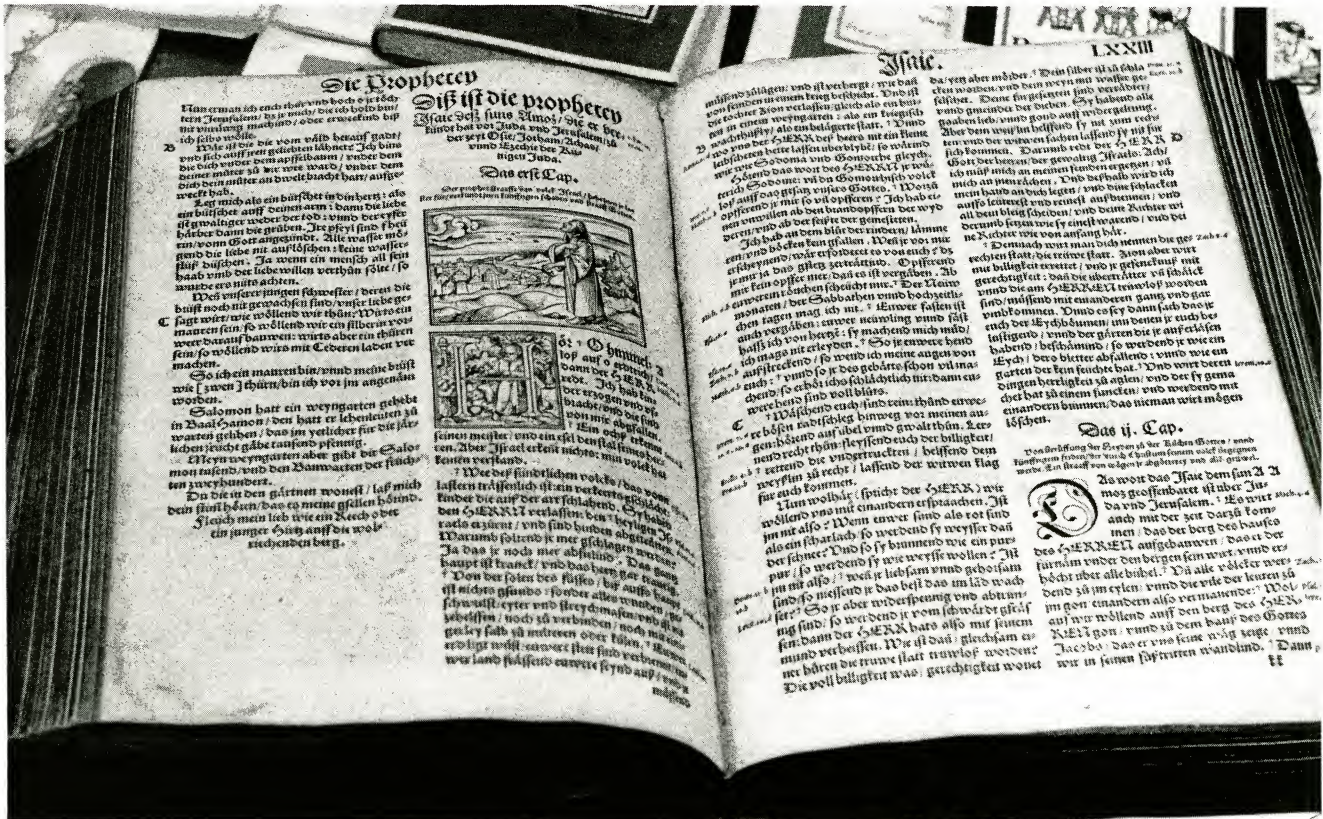
(a) For pastoral reasons, to avoid making the saints so good that any devotee today can only be filled with despair, a thing that must cause Catholic saints to turn with anguish in their graves. The truest saints among them were always those most keenly conscious of their own flaws. We Mennonites have made our Anabaptists too good to imitate.

The Mennonite Historical Bulletin is published quarterly by the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church and distributed to the members of the Mennonite Church Historical Association.

Editor: Levi Miller; Review editor: Steven D. Reschly; Design: Randall Horst; Contributing editors: Janeen Bertsche Johnson, Sandra Cronk, Jan Gleysteen, Leonard Gross, Amos B. Hoover, Russell Krabill, Glenn M. Lehman, Joseph Liechty, Steven Nolt, John D. Roth, Ervin Schlabach, John E. Sharp, Dennis Stoesz, Gerald Studer, Wilmer Swope, Marilyn Voran; Historical Committee: Rafael Falcon, Merle Good, Albert Keim, James O. Lehman, Hope Kauffman Lind, Steven D. Reschly, Samuel Steiner, Carolyn C. Wenger; Subscription and membership: Boyd Nelson.

Dues for subscription membership in the Mennonite Church Historical Association (\$10 annual), inquiries, articles, or news items should be sent to the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church, 1700 South Main, Goshen, IN 46526. Telephone (219) 535-7477, FAX (219) 535-7660.

Microfilms of Volumes I-LI of the Mennonite Historical Bulletin are available from: University Microfilms, Inc., 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.



The 1536 edition of the Bible published by Christoffel Froshauer at the Mennonite Historical Library of Goshen College. Has the religious ancestor become Scripture?

(b) For historical reasons, to gain a greater accuracy and objectivity about the Anabaptists themselves. Some Mennonite researchers have a tendency to relegate bona fide Anabaptists to some marginal position as half-Anabaptists if they happen not to embody the fulness of the Anabaptist vision.

2. Revisionism of the Anabaptist vision is something of a misnomer. The vision is more ignored than refuted, ignored because historians' interests have turned from the search for essence that prompted Bender. Most serious Anabaptist researchers admit that the Anabaptist vision may be useful for distinguishing Anabaptists from other religious groups of the Reformation, where the focus is obviously on differences among them.

3. Bender knew that he was being revised, and he accepted it privately with, I think, little or no fuss. He accepted John H. Yoder's insistence on the centrality of Hubmaier to the movement. He accepted my own insistence that some bona fide

Anabaptists in Central Germany were not nonresistant and others were spiritualists.

4. Revisionism is the staple of historiography. Every historian is always trying to demonstrate that prior treatments were inadequate or even erroneous. That is the way history, like any other discipline, makes some kind of progress toward universal acceptance. One should applaud that process. Obviously, today's revisionists soon will be revised.

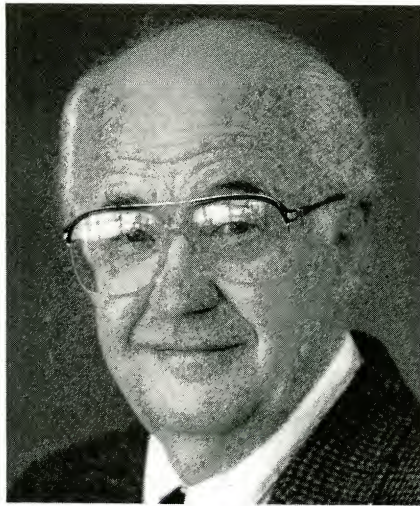
B. For the past 20 years, social, not theological, history has been the lens through which historians have chosen to scrutinize Teutonic peoples in the first half of the sixteenth century. So also now for the Anabaptists. How did those earliest Anabaptists live out their lives? What about Anabaptist women, their children (especially those who survived their parents' executions), their middle-echelon leaders who are almost faceless, their relations with neighbors including some who were friendly, their occupations?

This change in focus promises a

richer interpretation. Inevitably, historians will test a series of social theories against the available evidence. For Mennonites who take inspiration and guidance from their ancestors, social history may change, though not destroy, Anabaptist idealism and heroism.

C. Mennonites have turned Anabaptists into social and political radicals, protesting society's injustices and denouncing sin in high places. In some circles of educated layfolk radicalism has become, unselfconsciously, the essence of Anabaptism.

Certainly the Anabaptists' views on baptism and Christian community seriously challenged accepted ways of religious and social life around them. Earlier we Mennonites had regarded them as conservative people, even tradition-bound, much like ourselves in the 1930s or 40s. With the radical protest against the Vietnam War in the 1960s, they began to appear to us as radicals. If we view them as essentially radicals, we may turn them into Quakers.



John S. Oyer, Anabaptist researcher:
"Mennonites are deserting that field."
 Photo: Goshen College

The Anabaptists had a much more sober, severe view of the depth and persistence of human sin than most late-20th century Christians, including Mennonites, do. The sinfulness of each human being, not some general sin of society, was recognized. And their conversion to Anabaptism often occurred in some emotion-charged atmosphere that focused on the sinful condition of each potential baptizant.

I think Mennonites overemphasize the radicality of the Anabaptists. It is neither their radicalism in general, nor the presumed radicality of certain practices such as believers' baptism or nonjuring or protest against war taxes, that ought to guide us. It is rather their central concern that all of faith and life must be measured and remeasured against Scripture. Bender caught that essence: they practiced moral living under the aegis and direction of scriptural command.

Many Anabaptists were not selfconsciously radical. They merely wanted to return to early church Christianity, or to be faithful to Scripture. Either intention could be radical or moderate in the view of the beholder. Anabaptist practitioners of their forms of biblical Christianity were often mild or modest about religious or social implications of what they did.

A researcher might make a case for an overriding Anabaptist conservatism. They retained, indeed clung to, a large body of religious traditions and practices, with no

suggestion or thought of change. They were stealthy in mood and practice, in order to preserve what they had and to save their own lives. They lived and worshipped privately in underground churches to avoid detection; to do otherwise was to court exile, prison, torture and death. They evangelized quietly, even secretly—openly almost only at executions which were public anyway.

Favoring Post-Anabaptist Mennonite History

A. Far more Mennonite scholars, professional and skilled layfolk, prefer American Mennonite and Canadian Mennonite over Anabaptist history. Within the larger field probably 50 percent of all studies published fall within these fields, even more if one adds genealogy. Surely this increase is one of the larger field's greatest glories.

Already enriched by three volumes of the *Mennonite Experience in America* and two volumes of *Mennonites in Canada*, these fields have become highly sophisticated, yet large enough in unexplored local studies to attract scores of able, knowledgeable layfolk as intrepid researchers. These are the most exciting areas of Mennonite studies today.

B. Russian Mennonite studies attract a growing body of researchers, especially at the 100th anniversary celebration of the coming of the first Russian Mennonite settlers to North America. Sources are relatively numerous. Scholars have only begun to tap Russian government reports on the Mennonites, surely more numerous than reports on Mennonites by governments in any other region.

C. Other European Mennonite studies continue to grow. Dutch Mennonites have the largest body of primary sources to examine; they have worked at that task far longer than Mennonites anywhere else. In recent years they have returned vigorously to the field. The fields of German, French and Swiss Mennonite studies also attract fresh interest. Polish-Prussian Mennonite studies are less cultivated, with consequent frustration for some scholars.

D. Third-world Mennonites add converts rapidly. Historical studies about them languish, except for

doctoral studies by Westerners. Indigenous people have other agendas, and Westerners must not demand of them that they write their own histories now.

E. Each of these fields is attractive and exciting. Each is useful for refining our understanding of ourselves, through understanding how we developed from these more immediate ancestors. What were their visions, and how did they achieve them? What was the quality of their faithfulness?

This Anabaptist researcher fears that Mennonites are deserting that field. If we persist in wanting some kind of ancestral paradigm, something useful as a guide to our thought and lives, then Anabaptist studies must continue to be vital for us. Mennonites themselves will need to return to the field.

Some Other Changes

A. In one adult lifetime we have moved from very little to much history. In the past twenty years Mennonite studies have liberally incorporated research in other academic disciplines, to a point where Amish and Hutterite studies, for example, are largely nonhistorical social science researches. That is as it should be.



Melvin Gingerich, former archivist of the Mennonite Church, (with translator) spoke at the Lin-Shen Road Mennonite Church in Taichung, Taiwan, on March 10, 1957. *"We must not demand that they write their history now."* Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church

In some larger sense history as a discipline has fallen on hard times, compared with the expansion of scholarship and serious writing in other fields—the humanities as well as the social sciences. Anthropologists and sociologists and economists have staked large claims in what had been, 100 years ago, the historians' exclusive claim to understand and interpret human affairs.

B. Narrative history has returned as staple form, especially tales. Stories hold the attention of a literate public better than analysis. Historians need to cultivate that literate public, as against speaking primarily to their academic peers, returning history to its rightful place as a branch of the literary arts, not merely a science.

On the other hand, as Mennonites write more historical novels, they will need to cultivate history as science. They will need to steep themselves sufficiently in the mood and spirit of the people and times in order to write with integrity. Our historical libraries collect literary junk in the form of disgracefully inaccurate novels about, especially, the Amish, most of them done outside Mennonite circles. It seems to me that no one ought to write a novel about some aspect of Anabaptist or Mennonite history without spending years studying and feeling their way into the field.

Conculsion

One rejoices at the rich mosaic of both academic and literate studies that focus on Mennonites, broadly cast. *✠*

John S. Oyer has been editor of *Mennonite Quarterly Review* since 1966.

¹ Mennonite historiography here means: historical research and publication about Anabaptists, Mennonites, Amish and Hutterites, done by both Mennonites and scholars who are not Mennonite. Many of the major points in this essay are developed in response to questions.

Harry A. Brunk, Sr. (1898-1990): A Tribute

By Gerald R. Brunk

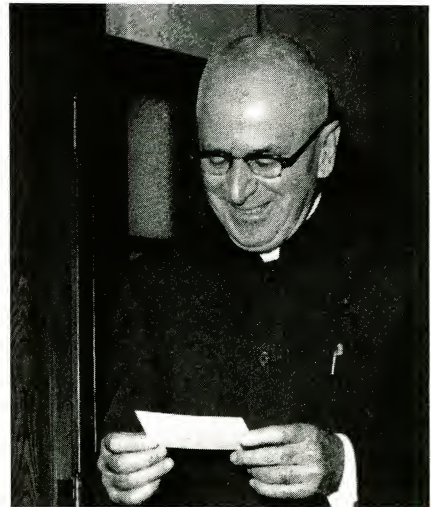
On August 16, 1990, Eastern Mennonite College lost one of its long-time faculty members. Harry A. Brunk Sr. was one of the first six students to register for classes at Eastern Mennonite School on October 10, 1917. A member of the second graduating class in 1921, he went on to earn his BA from Bridgewater College and his MA from the University of Virginia.

In 1925 Brunk was appointed to the faculty at Eastern Mennonite School where he taught history and social science for 38 years. During that time he completed the residency requirement for the doctorate at the University of Virginia. Soon after retirement in 1983, he was named Professor of History Emeritus by Eastern Mennonite College.

Brunk, knowing that history lectures could be dull, used a unique teaching style in the classroom. He frequently injected humor into his teaching. Students who had heard the same jokes before would often laugh more at Brunk's amusement than at the jokes themselves. And many a student would be jolted to attention by his booming demand for a response to a question. At the same time, he showed respect and generosity to his students.

Besides teaching, Brunk was also involved in research and scholarly writing. His *Life of Peter S. Hartman* (1937) includes Hartman's reminiscences of the Civil War in the Shenandoah Valley.

Brunk's major publication is the *History of the Mennonites in Virginia*, a two-volume work which tells the story of Virginia Mennonites from 1727-1960. This pioneer study has become well-known and used by many scholars. The first volume appeared in 1959 and tells the story from the earliest Mennonite settlements in Virginia to the schism of the Old Order Mennonites in 1901. The second volume (1972) deals with such themes as the work of the Virginia Conference and the experience of conscientious objectors in both world wars. Rather than giving much space to interpretation and analysis, Brunk



Harry A. Brunk, Sr., wrote "the definitive account of the Mennonite experience in Virginia." Photo: Eastern Mennonite College

lets the facts speak for themselves, presenting them with clarity and detail. These volumes reflect years of painstaking research and remain the definitive account of the Mennonite experience in Virginia.

After his retirement, Brunk devoted his time to genealogy. In 1978 he published *The Progeny of Jacob Brunk I, the Will-Maker* of whom both he and this writer are descendants. Three years later *The Progeny of Christopher Brunk*, a genealogy of the brother to Jacob I appeared, which he co-authored with William C. and Ivan W. Brunk. His last book, *David Heatwole and His Descendants*, (1987) was a 1,121-page up-date of the genealogy compiled by Cornelius J. Heatwole in 1907. In all his research, he was faithfully assisted by his wife Naomi Shank Brunk.

Another interest of Brunk was to preserve the tradition of Joseph Funk's *Harmonia Sacra*. Not only did he serve as secretary of the annual New Year's *Harmonia Sacra* Sing from 1935 to 1971, he also published two editions of the hymnal in order to ensure its continued use.

Brunk leaves a rich legacy which will continue to influence the church and historical scholarship. The Harry A. Brunk Memorial Fund has been established by the Department of History at Eastern Mennonite College. *✠*

Gerald R. Brunk is a professor of history at Eastern Mennonite College.

James O. Lehman and Congregational Histories

By Lee Snyder

James O. Lehman is a modest man, deliberate, reserved, unruffled. As he describes how he got started writing congregational histories, however, his eyes light up, and he becomes animated. "I didn't even enjoy history," he confesses.

As a student at Eastern Mennonite College in the 50s, Lehman had a particular aversion to European history. He recently dug out his old college text where he had inscribed on the edge, "In case of flood, stand on me. I'm dry."

However, he was lured into the subject by a professor who praised him for a particularly fine paper he wrote for a Mennonite history course. Lehman decided to explore his own roots by writing about his home community and the Sonnenberg Mennonite Church at Kidron, Ohio.

Lehman's uncle encouraged him to begin more extensive research on the Sonnenberg-Kidron Mennonites in preparation for a 150th-anniversary celebration. Uncle Sylvester promised to pay his nephew "a little" for the effort.

Hometown Boy Explores His Past

It was not until the sixties that James O. Lehman got serious about the assignment, building on his college research paper. He discovered what he describes as "fantastic sources." The Sonnenberg Church had maintained careful records on deaths, marriages, and baptisms going back to the founding of the congregation.

As an aside, Lehman observed that he has found no other church in his research which has kept such complete records from its very beginning. Assisted by diaries, scrapbooks, newspapers and church periodicals, the serious research began. The amount of material was so great that Lehman found his task growing.

Some years before the anticipated sesquicentennial celebration of Sonnenberg, a planning committee had been established. At each step they provided the encouragement for Lehman to proceed even though what

had begun as "a labor of love" turned into a major project.

By 1969 Lehman completed his first history, *Sonnenberg: A Haven and A Heritage*, in time for the 150th-anniversary celebration of the Kidron Swiss-Mennonite community. The Ohio governor showed up for a hymn sing, and a historical drama, based on Lehman's book, was produced for the occasion.

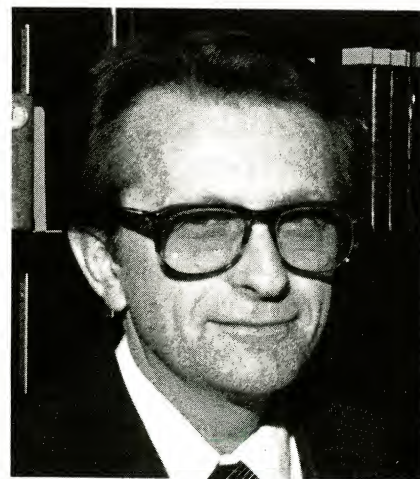
Lehman was a hometown boy who understood the community from the inside. His developing passion for exploring his roots and congregational past was coupled to the scholar's method. He researched and documented the migration of a people from the Jura Mountains of Canton Bern in Switzerland to the United States.

By the time the history was written, it was nearly 400 pages in length. It included over 600 footnotes, an extensive bibliography, index, maps, photos and various appendices. Described as a "masterpiece of community history," the book won the citation of "most substantial original volume of local history published in Ohio in 1969."¹

Lehman's documentation of the pioneering efforts of the Swiss Mennonites in Ohio proved only the beginning. His absorption in the subject, his achievement in his first book, and the increasing interest within congregations to learn more about their past led to a succession of histories between 1974 and 1990, each with its unique story.

Philosophy and Themes

The 1974 history of the Pike Mennonite Church, for example, documents the unusual number and quality of church leaders who emerged from that congregation. The Crown Hill Church is characterized as a thriving Christian community with a strong interest in missions and evangelism, though not untouched by the Fundamentalist-Modernist controversy of the early part of this century. (Crown Hill established the first Mennonite Home for the Aged.)



James O. Lehman: congregational history as confession

Creative Congregationalism, the 1978 history of the Oak Grove Mennonite Church, documents a church split, a recurring theme in most of these histories. The tensions between a congregation and a conference are examined, with the author's voice clearly heard on the pain of schisms and the miracle of healing possible through learning from the past.

The title of Lehman's 1980 book, *Growth Amidst Struggle*, a history of the Longenecker Mennonite Church, reflects the author's commitment to representing historical fact but not ignoring difficulties over a number of issues. These include the Civil War and Mennonite participation in the military (again a recurring theme in a number of these histories), human failings of individuals who were "silenced" and the problem of dominant families which led factions.

Historian Lehman cannot resist reflecting on the human condition when he asks, "Is not a congregation made up of people who are sinners saved by the grace of God? Have not many people been indiscreet at one time or another in their lives, and gossip and circumstances have not been so harsh with them? Sin is sin and cannot be justified or glossed over, but God will forgive and so should people."²

This statement is a variant on a theme which pervades all the congregational histories. The author considers history as a way to deal with our past, particularly our sinful past. In this view, recounting history

becomes a kind of confession or expiation.

These histories also reflect Lehman's passionate belief that God works with his people in spite of their weaknesses. He suggests in his latest book on the Bethel Congregation at West Liberty that seeing how God has worked in the past gives us courage and inspiration for the future.³

The congregation serves as a microcosm for the broader church. As Lehman says in the Salem history, the congregation "becomes a small cosmos that in a sense mirrors the larger Mennonite Christian world, a sharply focused cross-section of the larger panorama, with all its peaceful and turbulent scenes."⁴

Pitfalls and Rewards

Although Lehman unabashedly states a personal philosophy as he examines the stories of congregations, he nevertheless attempts to present a fair and accurate picture of the past. It is not an easy task. Persons in the congregation prefer some parts of the story untold. On one occasion, for example, the author was requested to drop out an entire chapter. At other times he has been "burned," as he puts it, when a history is published and some readers disagree with his findings or interpretation and let him know in harsh terms.

As requests come for congregational histories, Lehman is careful in the negotiations, usually with committees, to make clear the historian's commitment to facts, not misrepresenting or ignoring the dark strands interwoven in history. Lehman's scholarly approach to his materials is invaluable in documenting disputed information.

He is careful to systematically examine written records such as diaries, church and conference documents, newspapers and church periodicals. He has found the Mennonite periodicals *Herald of Truth* and *Gospel Herald* of great value. Oral interviews are also important. Lehman talks with persons who are recommended to him, usually by the congregational committee responsible to oversee the history.

It is this approach and research method which gives authenticity to the congregational stories as history. Individuals who would like to retell the story are not always satisfied, but in general, Lehman reports, the

committees are supportive of the facts being presented as accurately as possible.

The author confesses that he has turned down requests for writing assignments when the history was too controversial or explosive to tell the full story. Usually these are requests for a history which is too recent, where there is not the span of time to provide adequate perspective. Lehman's seven histories so far have been 100 and 150-year histories. He usually turns down requests for a 50-year history.

When asked what his next history will be, Lehman smiles and reflects on the extraordinary amount of work which goes into each project. Generally, his research has been done alongside being director of libraries at Eastern Mennonite College. Moonlighting has taken its toll, he reports. Usually the amount of time required to write a congregational history exceeds the estimate he gives the congregation when he negotiates price. He bases the cost of his services on an hourly rate plus mileage for two round trips to the respective communities.

He always spends a minimum of one week on location, immersing himself in research and oral interviews. Often sources prove so irresistible that Lehman finds himself spending more time than he expected probing "interesting stuff."

The next congregational history will have to wait, he suggests, until he has more time. Presently he is doing

research on Mennonites in the North and the Civil War.

Educator-historian James O. Lehman, a native son of Kidron, Ohio, has been unusually prolific in producing the stories of Mennonite settlements in several counties of Ohio. The serendipitous convergence of a congregation's search for the past and the awakening interests of a scholar who had a commitment to the Anabaptist faith and heritage has proven fruitful.

"History can teach us something if we are willing to learn," says Lehman.⁵ Those lessons are of forgiveness and grace and of God's working through human frailties. They reveal the complexities of the human experience with its dilemmas, its petty absurdities, its shortsightedness, its paradoxes, and the renewal of hope in revisiting the past. *U*

Lee Snyder is dean of Eastern Mennonite College.

¹ Quotations, including one from Melvin Gingerich, former archivist of the Mennonite Church, are from a brochure describing several of James O. Lehman's histories.

² *Growth Amidst Struggle*, p. 92.

³ "Introduction," *Uncommon Threads*, p. viii.

⁴ "Introduction," *Salem's First Century*, p. viii.

⁵ *Creative Congregationalism*, p. 237.

James O. Lehman's Seven Stories

Sonnenberg: A Haven and a Heritage. Kidron, Ohio: Kidron Community Council, 1969.

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Creative Congregationalism: A History of the Oak Grove Mennonite Church in Wayne County, Ohio. Smithville, Ohio: Oak Grove Mennonite Church, 1978.

Growth Amidst Struggle: A Sesquicentennial History of the Longenecker Mennonite Church. Winesburg, Ohio: Longenecker Mennonite Church, 1980.

Salem's First Century: Worship and Witness. Kidron, Ohio: Salem Mennonite Church, 1986.

Uncommon Threads: A Centennial History of Bethel Mennonite Church. West Liberty, Ohio: Bethel Mennonite Church, 1990.



The new MeetingHouse of the Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania. Photo: Phil Johnson Ruth

The Franconia Gift to Future Generations Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania

By Levi Miller

The Franconia and Eastern District Conference Mennonites have built a new MeetingHouse to accommodate a "Mennonite life center," museum, and historical library and archives. I visited the community October 18-22, 1991, during the opening celebrations of the MeetingHouse and the meetings of the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church.

A generation ago Harold S. Bender and John C. Wenger claimed that among the Old Mennonite conferences, Franconia best kept the "ancient forms of worship, doctrine, and church government." Whether that claim still holds is for someone else to judge, but there is no denying the interest this community has in its history.

An opening evening dinner thanksgiving celebration brought over 300 people to Christopher Dock High School in what one local who missed an invitation told me were "the hottest tickets in Harleysville." Building the MeetingHouse had cost about 1.1 million dollars, and the local members

were thankful that 90 percent of the money was pledged or on hand.

Historian Robert Kreider in his inclusive generous style reminded the group of "Our Gifts to Future Generations." Kreider paid tribute to everyone from India missionary Anne Funk and Russia relief worker Clayton Kratz to the 1930 Philadelphia baseball team, the "unheralded grandmothers" and Jesus Christ.

In the evenings, I was hosted by Millie and John Mast in the village of Lederach, much of which seems to have been bought by Drew Lewis, the Schwenckfelder U.S. Transportation Secretary during the Reagan years. Lewis' daughter had recently joined one of the local Mennonite congregations.

In the morning I went to the large MeetingHouse which is easily accessible near U.S. 113 in Harleysville. In structure it looks like an old mill (Old Funk's) on the outside and like a Romanesque barn on the inside. Its clearstory windows along the second floor give natural light, and open beams run across parts of the main section. The stones in the entrance, coming from the various

congregations in the two conferences, speak to a close church and heritage relationship.

What strikes the Amish Mennonite visitor is the way this visitor-friendly place has no Amish or Old Order community with their visible symbols to entice the curious. This is pure and authentic contemporary Mennonite life with its diversity and unity and history going back to pre-Revolutionary War roots in America and 16th century Anabaptism in Europe.

According to the director, Carolyn Nolan, the strength of this MeetingHouse is its open invitation to taste of Mennonite church life in the displays of the "Mennonite Life Center." Here for children and adults is congregational life of service, worship, community, evangelism and peacemaking. At the same time, we are introduced to the heritage, including a large exhibit of the colorful Fraktur folk art. Largely nurtured by local collector Mary Jane Hershey, the MeetingHouse has what is thought to be the best and largest collection of Fraktur on display in North America.

This Swiss German script art flourished from about 1750 to 1840 and gave the modest Mennonites a touch of color in their hymn books and Bibles. The colonial Mennonite schoolmaster Christopher Dock (whose memorial stone is in the nearby Lower Skippack Mennonite burial ground) gave them as gifts to his pupils. Apparently, the bright letters could even reinforce Mennonite humility as one says: "Die Demuth Ist Das Waffen Wider Des Teuffels Lust." "Humility is the weapon against the devil's power."

John L. Ruth and his family introduce the life and history in a video called "Songs of Hope, Names of Memory" and a permanent exhibit called "Work and Hope." (It is surely unfair to the many other volunteers and staffers of the MeetingHouse to say so, but still, one comes away from the weekend remembering the Ruth Jacobs family marks on many history-related projects. Jay is a video producer; his wife has the Tea Room in one of Drew Lewis's old houses in Lederach; Beth Johnson is a writer; Philip is a photographer and writer; and Roma is a fraktur artist.)

John L. Ruth tells the Mennonite stories of this community from its beginnings when the Mennonites arrived in Germantown in 1683 to 1947 in *Maintaining the Right Fellowship* (Herald Press, 1984). He had earlier made a film of his community "The Quiet In the Land," made dramatic literature of a local auctioneer (*Twilight Auction*), and last summer showed up in Winnipeg telling stories of the "last Mennonite bishop" (John E. Lapp).

One afternoon I visited the Ruth Jacobs extended household near Vernfield on what is left of the family farm, surrounded by encroaching lawns. In the remains of a barn loft turned office, the family collaborates on various video, photography and publication projects. Ruth is a part of the pastoral leadership at Salford Mennonite Church and says he has almost finished the long-awaited Lancaster Conference history.

Aside from Ruth's history, the other recent historical interpretation of this community came from Beulah Stauffer Hostetler. She superimposed a Schleithem Anabaptist charter on the Franconia Conference in *American Mennonites and Protestant Movements* (Herald Press, 1987).

Joel Alderfer cares for many more volumes and documents at the historical library and archives of the MeetingHouse. Alderfer is curator of a collection of over 10,000 books, documents, deeds and other historical artifacts. He showed me an alms book which spans over two centuries in the Skippack meetinghouse covering the years from 1738 to 1954.

Some of the key collections in the archives include the conservative Skippack minister Jacob Mensch (1835-1912) collection and the recently deposited papers of Franconia bishop John E. Lapp (1905-1988). Alderfer and I went to see the traditional-styled Delp's Mennonite Meetinghouse (dating from 1813-14) and the Kline's Dunker Meetinghouse where we had lunch on the steps. Both of these historic meetinghouses are within a mile of the new MeetingHouse. Isaac Clarence Kulp, a local folklorist, collector and historian, is one of the chief guardians of the Brethern memories.

The MeetingHouse's usual hours are ten to five Tuesday to Saturday and two to five on Sunday afternoons. Carolyn Nolan is the director and can be reached at Box 82, 565 Yoder Road, Harleysville, PA 19438. Telephone: 215 256 3020.


On Saturday morning I visited Germantown where the Dutch-speaking Mennonites from Crefeld, Germany arrived in 1683. While a mockingbird sang in the limbs above the graveyard beside the 1770 Meetinghouse and Philadelphia transit buses rumbled by, Galen Horst told me about his hopes for the Information

Center (215 843 0943) and other projects. The Germantown Mennonite Church Corporation also operates the Johnson House, a historic Quaker house, and the Rittenhouse Homestead, site of the first paper mill in the United States.

The local congregation has outgrown the old Meetinghouse (located at 6121 Germantown Avenue) with its 94 members. The members meet for worship at a neighboring Episcopalian building and are looking at plans for a new meetinghouse or to purchase an older church building nearby.

On Saturday evening the Anabaptist martyr and suffering origins of the Mennonites were remembered in the music of the Alice Parker and John L. Ruth *Martyrs' Mirror* church opera. The Franconia-Lancaster Choral Singers performed the opera at the Branch Fellowship Church Center. The concert was sponsored by Mennonite Historians of Eastern Pennsylvania which is the umbrella organization for all these historical activities.

Arlin Lapp is president of the 500 member group. Through volunteers and an annual budget of \$130,000, it sponsors the work of the MeetingHouse, an annual apple butter frolic, and various cultural and educational programs. Every other month its members receive *The Newsletter*.

The present membership in the Franconia Conference is 6,667 in 59 congregations. The Eastern District of the General Conference Mennonite Church has 4,650 members in 31 congregations. February 4, 1991 



Carolyn Nolan, administrator, and Joel Alderfer, curator: "an open invitation to taste of Mennonite church life." Photo: Phil Johnson Ruth

The Tasteful Theater of the Defenseless Christians

The Mirror of the Martyrs Exhibit

By David J. Rempel Smucker

The museum exhibit entitled *The Mirror of the Martyrs* at the Kauffman Museum (January 1991) at Bethel College, North Newton, Kansas, represents a zenith convergence of Anabaptist-Mennonite historical endeavors and the artifact/image. Excellent conceptualization, design, and fabrication create an impressive and thought-provoking experience for the viewer.

Designed as an exhibit to travel, it is contained in a space of 28 feet by 28 feet and consists of 49 panels (each 80 inches by 40 and 20 inches), three display cases, and three vitrines. The high-quality materials, striking pictorial reproductions, and good organization of content and—above all, a devoted concern for the subject—were operating.

A Martyrs Mirror Trust is being devoted to oversee the complicated process of exhibit travel by relating to local host groups and providing a wide range of possible supporting features such as brochures, cassette tapes, posters, and bulletin inserts. Robert S. Kreider, who spearheaded this project with John S. Oyer, and designer Robert Regier and the staff of the Kauffman Museum should be remembered and commended as the exhibit travels the "Mennonite circuit" in future years.

The subject of this exhibit is the Christian martyr experience as described and pictured in the 1685 edition of *The Bloody Theater of Martyrs Mirror of the Defenseless Christians* by the Dutch Mennonite duo—author Thielemans van Braght (1625-1664) and skilled illustrator Jan Luyken (1649-1712) who crafted 104 copper plates. This huge 1,290-page printing venture focuses on the stories of sixteenth-century Anabaptist martyrs, although events from the entire range of church history are also included. It contains many primary source voices from eyewitnesses, martyr letters, interrogations and court records.

The exhibit, itself inspired by the 1989 acquisition of 23 of these copper

plates, consists primarily of large and vivid images from the Luyken prints and accompanying texts. In addition, there are the cases and vitrines of rare books and eight of the actual copper plates. The opening panel has the following subtext: "This is the drama of people, obedient to crown and church, torturing and killing people who claim a higher obedience." On this panel the image of martyr Catherine Müller being pulled in one direction (to her death in Zürich, Switzerland) by a sword-wielding man, and in the other direction by her fearful small child, captures the tripartite "cast" in these dramas—the violent persecutor, the nonresistant and suffering martyr, and those left to witness the faith-inspiring and horrible spectacle.

At this tasteful exhibit one feels more "theater" than "bloody." It is a drama where the lines, however passionate, are memorized. The texts realistically describe some of the gruesome scenes, but they do not quite match in intensity the reproductions of the Luyken prints. To our modern eyes the Luyken style, like the Gothic letter form, often hints at an antiquarian setting somewhat removed from contemporary concerns.

Perhaps overcautious in avoiding sensationalism, the exhibit could have been more effective, I believe, if the images portrayed shocked the viewer to a greater degree. After all, does not physical torture often distort the martyrs' immediate perceptions? A little more Dionysius and less of Apollo in the visual images.

Unfortunately, readability is a problem with some of the phrases in quotations. Not enough color-contrast exists to print off-white letters on a too-similar off-white background.

The overall context of this exhibit abounds in ironies. We North American Mennonites and Amish need, I suspect, more than the metaphor of a mirror to understand and appropriate these stories of terror and courage into our comfortable lives. To the degree that we possess such a living faith—willing to embrace joyfully physical pain and death—we



The case showing prints of all thirty copper etchings from the Mirror of the Martyrs exhibit with a 1780 Pirmasens Martyrs Mirror (the last edition to use the Jan Luyken etchings). Photo: Chuck Regier

are fulfilling what is theologically required by living "in Christ" (Romans 8: 1-2). The mirror, at least in its normal form, is not a transforming metaphor. It simply reflects the image to the eyes of the viewer. Yet very little in our contemporary political and economic status mirrors the sixteenth-century persecution of the Anabaptists.

In the case of our martyr tradition, we North American Anabaptist-background groups will require a specially (and truthfully) "distorted" mirror to make the passion and commitment of these stories truly operative in our daily lives. I do not know if the shape of that truth-evoking mirror can be expressed in a museum exhibit. Certainly we encounter situations where Spirit-inspired courage is required. Courage to witness to Christ's kingdom in the face of hostile powers is still a legitimate filtered-mirror image which can empower us in the rare situations where we face collective hostility to our Christian convictions.

This superb exhibit can keep alive in our memory the accurate facts of this martyr tradition and can focus our emotions on it. That is an important yet limited function. The exhibit admirably includes a panel on "Martyrs Today" and reminds us that

the twentieth century has produced more martyrs than the sixteenth.

Yet our position in North American society largely insulates us from this contemporary martyr tradition. Also, contemporary martyrs in the Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition comprise a much lower percentage of the total Anabaptist population than such a percentage in the 16th century.

I hope this exhibit can someday travel to regions outside North America where Anabaptist and other Christian groups live and worship in situations of terror closer to these sixteenth century martyrs.


Other ironies struck me. Only a collaboration of wealthy and sophisticated historians, business people, designers and internationally-aware persons could produce an exhibit on a persecuted minority at the fringe of power and influence of sixteenth-century Europe. Much like the prosperous and worldly-wise Dutch Mennonites of the seventeenth century who collected the stories and published the huge *Martyrs Mirror*, this contemporary group has refused to forget this aspect of their faith tradition even in the face of much tolerance and acceptance.

Although these Jan Luyken plates are intended to be owned by an inter-Mennonite trust, and the project had benefactors from different Mennonite groups, I find irony in the fact that the museum of the "liberal" General Conference Mennonite Church-related school would provide the impetus and considerable resources necessary to mount this exhibit. After all, are not these the Mennonites who have "strayed furthest" from the Old Order mentality which still attempts to incorporate reading from the *Martyrs Mirror* in its daily spiritual regimen? Perhaps the sophisticated Mennonites who financed and produced the exhibit and book are engaged in some healthy compensation for the withdrawal of martyr consciousness from their central concerns.

In conjunction with the exhibit, a 96-page book by Robert S. Kreider and John S. Oyer entitled *Mirror of the Martyrs* (Good Books, 1990) was published as a "storybook catalog" which both supports the exhibit and stands by itself. The book reproduces the 30 copper plates now in North America and provides brief descriptions in 23 of them. Also included are short biographies of van

Bragt and Luyken, plus the account of acquiring the "lost plates."

The book's introduction, an interpretive reaction to the *Martyrs Mirror*, provides the reader with various metaphors and questions with which to approach the subject matter. Nonetheless, I find the headings, with the repeated "we" condescendingly dramatic. The lively prose, careful notes, and helpful bibliography will serve, especially for viewers of the exhibit, to fix these images in their minds and these commitments in their hearts.

Christians who believe that Jesus Christ the Saviour is a suffering servant, who see his cross as central to God's revelation, and who aspire to follow Christ regardless of society's deflections will find a rich resource in the heritage that this exhibit and book portrays. Historically-sensitive Mennonites and Amish will especially respond to this "republication" of the *Martyrs Mirror* experience because "in their 465 years of history, no book except the Bible has been more influential in perpetuating and nurturing their faith..." (page 7). 

David J. Rempel Smucker of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is editor of *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage*.

Recent Publications

Fretz, Clarence Y., *Anabaptist Hymnal*. Second edition 1990, 123 selections. Deutsche Buchhandlung, Route 6, Box 327, Hagerstown, MD 21740

Greenwood, M.M. *Descendents of Jacob Miller, Sr. and Anna Stutzman*. Pp. 172. \$25. Order from M.M. Greenwood 1606 S. 10th St., Terre Haute, IN 47802.

Miller, Rachel and Amelia Jones, *Ancestors and Descendants of Nathan and Emelia (Kauffman) Jones (1855-1940)*. 1990. Pp. 176. Order from Albert Jones, 24418 CR 46, Nappanee, IN 46550.

Niswander, Joanne Vercler. *The Verclera of Illinois*. 1990. Pp. 234. Order from Joanne Vercler Niswander, Box 252, Bluffton, OH 45817.

White, Neva L. and Mildred (White) Park, *A White Family History*. Pp. 251. Order from Neva White, 2465 Vaughn Drive, Manhattan, KS 66502.



Mirror of the Martyrs Exhibit

Indiana

Goshen College, May
Associated Mennonite
Biblical Seminaries,
June - July 15
Amish Country in Elkhart
and LaGrange County,
Aug. - Sept.

Virginia

Eastern Mennonite
College,
Sept. 29 - Oct. 5
Dayton Mennonites,
Oct. 27 - Nov. 16

Pennsylvania

The MeetingHouse,
Harleysville,
Nov. 18 - Jan. 1

The Mirror of the
Martyrs



Right Remembering the Martyr Stories

By Julia Kasdorf

Growing up in the 1970s, I heard a lot about the sixteenth century Anabaptists. There were the martyr travelogues, the Tom Schenk paintings of Mantz, Grebel and Blaurock in rich velvet smocks, and the stories that gave me the shivers. While Alex Haley was tracing the roots of African-Americans throughout the era of slavery and back to the motherland, Mennonites were claiming an identity that had origins in Europe.

Maybe it had to do with being pacifists in a nation that was waging war in a foreign land; maybe it was motivated by the need to establish theological distinction in an age of ecumenism. In any case, it was so successful at showing that Anabaptist Mennonites are a unique, persecuted tribe that I called my third-grade playmates "papists" one day during a jump-rope dispute. Yes, they were confused.

The impulse to retell martyr stories continues to be strong, judging from some recent releases from the Mennonite press. According to the publisher, several of the books reviewed here are intended for "young

people and adults." Perhaps they mean those who did not grow up in homes that contained the Herald Press edition of *Martyrs Mirror*.

The book's thin, creamy pages and Jan Luyken engravings and its spooky, red-spattered page ends are fascinating to children used to cartoons. Could that red be blood? These individuals may not have had the benefit of Jan Gleysteen's slide shows of idyllic European rivers and village squares which, we are told in his endearing Dutch accent, are actually execution sites.

The implicit fear is that children who grew up unfamiliar with the martyr stories, along with the churches that are expanding more through evangelism than birth, might be losing their Anabaptist identity. This loss, sometimes recognized as a faltering of pacifist beliefs, had fueled revivals of martyr stories in America before. The Mennonites sponsored printings in the 1770s as the colonies faced the prospect of a war between France and England and in the 1880s during a period of revival and change. The preface of the 1950 Herald Press edition states that it must: "capture the loyalty of our youth if the biblical doctrine of nonresistance is to be preserved."

And it works. Many of us who have grown up with the stories feel a strong identification with our heroic forbears, if not through flesh at least in spirit. Some persons discover the Mennonite church after being inspired by reading accounts of the Anabaptist movement. The strength of martyr stories lies in their immediacy; they are first-hand reports, often in the words of the martyrs or their friends. Almost five centuries later, there is still a compelling sense of urgency and conviction in the court record of an anabaptist's testimony or in a letter that was smuggled out of a dungeon.

The same immediacy can be found in *Mennonite Martyrs: People who Suffered for their Faith, 1920-1940*. This recent English translation of *Mennonitische Martyrer* is a compilation of biographical sketches, letters, and narratives about Mennonites in the Soviet Union.

Mennonite Martyrs: People who Suffered for their Faith 1920-1940. Aron A. Toews. Tr., John B. Toews. Winnipeg: Kindred Press, 1990. \$29.95.

The Deacon. Myron S. Augsburg and Marcia Augsburg Kincanon. Winnipeg: Kindred Press, 1990. \$9.95.

I'll See You Again! Myron Augsburg. Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1989. Pp. 232. \$7.95.

On Fire for Christ: Stories of Anabaptist Martyrs Retold from Martyrs Mirror. Dave and Neta Jackson. Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1989. Pp. 184. \$8.95.

Many of the stories chronicle the fate of ministers who suffered exile and death at the hands of Soviet authorities. The accounts, uneven and largely unedited, were contributed by family members, friends, and Mennonite refugees who escaped after World War II. They are quite compelling, however, in their vivid portrayals of the martyrs and — equally important — the voices of the individuals who remained to tell the stories in their own words.

There is a great difference, however, between printing books like *Mennonite Martyrs* or *Martyrs Mirror* and the recent push to popularize Anabaptist stories by turning them into novels or films. Both *Mennonite Martyrs* and *Martyrs Mirror* retain the quality of eyewitness accounts. There is no need to justify or enhance; the importance of keeping an accurate record for the generations which follow is assumed, as the importance of "news" or history is assumed.

No doubt the same commitment to history motivates the fictionalized accounts of martyr stories. They have been transformed into these other forms to make them more accessible and engaging. The bare bones accounts have been enlivened with specific details of history and place; the martyr heroes have been transformed into "real" people. In short, the books heed the popular advice of the creative writing



Close up of the "Town Square," a charred stake and chains in the center of the *Mirror of the Martyrs* exhibit. Photo: Chuck Regier

workshop, "show, don't tell."

The art of fiction, however, is difficult. It demands more than a good plot and concrete detail. And, it becomes especially problematic when the craft is employed as an instrument of instruction. It was almost impossible for a movie like *The Radicals*, for example, to reach beyond an atmosphere of high school social studies films: elaborate period costumes, impressive horse scenes, and articulate characters who seem bent on talking endlessly about a few emblematic ideas.

In spite of this difficulty, a slim, new novel, *The Deacon*, nearly succeeds as fiction in its own right. Probably written with adolescents in mind, this book tells simply and sensitively the story of Elizabeth Dirks, whose trial and martyrdom occupy less than three pages in *Martyrs Mirror*.

The story is expanded with references to other martyr accounts as well as fictionalized details of her family background, an adolescent romance, and insights into women's lives and relationships inside a 16th-century convent and among the early Anabaptists. The authors have created a viable character with whom a reader can identify and feel sympathy.


I'll See You Again!, on the other hand, rarely succeeds in portraying Felix Mantz as a vital human being capable of holding a reader's concern or attention. At times the book loses focus, getting bogged down in the political and theological debates of the day. The plot strains to contain information about other leaders and events in the free church movement. Consistent with the spirit of the book, Felix himself is so distracted by theological discussions that he delays proposing to his beloved.

Aside from reservations about the title (ditto *Pilgrim Aflame*), *On Fire for Christ* is the best of these new books for "youth and adults" to attempt to retell *Martyrs Mirror* stories. This may be because the book has less literary ambition; the stories are only about ten pages in length. Nonetheless, they successfully employ elements of fiction such as dialogue, perspective, and description to round out 15 of the *Martyrs Mirror* accounts. Among the engaging stories are old favorites such as Dirk Willems and Michael Sattler as well as several about women and young people.

In many ways, this paperback volume is a welcome companion to its hefty, sometimes difficult source. It might be well used in church membership or history classes. In addition to the stories, the book includes passable reproductions of seven Jan Luyken engraving and other illustrations. It is introduced by a brief history of the compilation and publications of *Martyrs Mirror*, and historical notes and discussion questions are appended for each story. The book also contains a short bibliography of other source materials that deal with Anabaptist history.

In the author's introduction to *On Fire for Christ*, Dave and Neta Jackson discuss their motives for retelling the martyr stories. They distinguish between a "wrong remembering" and a "right remembering," alluding to the biblical record. It focuses on the devout and God's deliverance rather than on the oppressors and injustice. "Right remembering," they say, "is a testimony that even suffering and death cannot extinguish the victory that is ours in Christ Jesus."

This interesting interpretation addresses the main problem inherent in telling martyr stories: an innocent victim is vividly pitted against an evil system, and the victim who loses is our hero of faith. Given this, how do you tell these dramatic stories to children, arousing their sympathy for the martyrs, without turning them into Catholic-haters or Protestant-haters? How do you keep children from mouthing the universal accusation, "Your people killed my people?"

Speaking as one who once uttered those words on a western Pennsylvania playground, I do not know. I am not even sure that it is possible for a people to define themselves through martyrdom without some "wrong remembering." When so much of our identity has been explained to us in terms of who we *are not*, it becomes easy to honor — even to enshrine — the acts of injustice which distinguished the Anabaptists from all others. The error may not be so much in *how* we remember, but why. As long as we look for our identity in tales of torture and death, we may lose sight of the truths for which the martyrs lived. 

Julia Kasdorf lives and writes in Brooklyn, New York.

Book Reviews

A Modest Mennonite Home. Steve Friesen. Intercourse: Good Books, 1990. Pp. 128. \$9.95.

In a handsome book that features solid historical research, a readable prose and an attractive layout, Steve Friesen and John Herr tell the history of an early Pennsylvania Mennonite family. Filled with detail, this book will attract both the popular audience and the serious student of cultural and religious history. Friesen is clearly at his best in his rich description of life in the Hans Herr House, placing it within the context of the surrounding landscape, culture and the wider Mennonite story.

The balance of contemporary photographs with the older prints, paintings and manuscripts gives the book an appealing professional appearance. More troubling, however, is the philosophical approach to history it represents. The pristine, pastoral setting conjures up images of a long lost utopia, an impression that is reinforced by Friesen's uncritical text. Although the appeal to a wider and popular audience may have been enhanced, I wonder if the Herr family of 1719 would recognize their old home.

Frank Yoder, Chicago, Illinois

A Homeland for Strangers, An Introduction to Mennonites in Poland and Prussia. Peter J. Klassen. Fresno: Center for Mennonite Brethern Studies, 1989. Pp. 95. \$18.00.

This is one of the first English language publications which adequately tells the story of the Mennonites who lived in the vicinity of the Vistula River for over three centuries. These settlements, depending on their geographic locations, were variously controlled by German, Prussian and Polish rulers.

The book introduces the reader to the people and lands of the region, tracing their stay from the beginnings to the violent end of the settlements after World War II. Latin America, Canada and Germany became the new homeland for the majority of these displaced people.

This booklet is far more than a simple history. Maps and photographs not only bring the past to life but also take the reader into Poland today. Almost half of the book tries to

recreate the Mennonite past of the region for the modern tourist. Tours are suggested for Danzig (Gdansk), Marienburg (Malbork), Thorun (Thorn), and Elbing (Elbag), including addresses for restaurants, hotels and travel offices. Surviving cemeteries are also listed. An attractive and enticing volume, the book is easily understood by the average Mennonite reader.

John B. Toews, Vancouver, British Columbia

Pragmatic Prophet: The Life of Michael Robert Zigler. Donald F. Durnbaugh. Elgin: Brethren Press, 1989. Pp.416. \$24.95, Paper, \$12.96.

The Historic Peace Churches have a classic peace resource in this well-documented biography, **Pragmatic Prophet: The Life of Michael Robert Zigler.** Noted Brethren historian Donald F. Durnbaugh has poignantly captured the legacy, vision, charisma, determination and faith of this Brethren "peace pioneer."

The 416 pages of **Pragmatic Prophet** has more depth than the limited autobiography of M. R. Zigler as told to Inez Long, **One Man's Peace** (On Earth Peace Assembly, 1983). In this larger work, Durnbaugh reveals the passion of a Virginia Brethren farm boy for an ecumenical, worldwide peace movement in which Christians would agree not to fight each other. Youth would be empowered to serve the world's suffering humanity and people would be trained in the work for peace.

This stirring documentary offers an appropriate tribute to a man whose 90-

plus years modeled world peace for this century and the next.

Paul W. Roth, Elgin, Illinois

Collected Works, Arnold Dyck Werke, Volume IV. Ed., George K. Epp and Elisabeth Peters. Winnipeg: Manitoba Historical Society, 1990. Pp. 504. \$25.00.

This volume includes previously unpublished short stories, a fable, a drama, selected essays and letters, and a portfolio of illustrations. The language is High German, with Low German, English and Mexican also used in the drama. English introductions to many of the selections give important information to the thoughtful reader.

Arnold Dyck's writings bridge two eras in Mennonite history: the end of the Russian and the beginning of the Canadian experience. The short stories vividly portray the grim realities of life faced by the Mennonite immigrants of the 1920s during their first decade in Manitoba. They show Dyck's inimitable humor in depicting the former students, teachers, business people, dreamers—all turned bush farmers—struggling with the mundane difficulties of daily survival.

The fable "Peter Spatz" is delightful and somewhat autobiographical. With keen insight and sensitive descriptions, Arnold Dyck has given the birds human characteristics. It is also clear that in Peter he portrays his own sadness and loneliness in a world in which he feels increasingly out of touch.

Altogether the book is a treasure

chest full of surprises. "Keine Heimat," his only poem, is poignant with feeling while the portfolio of illustrations is a visual bonus. The essays and letters are a must for anyone interested in the development of Mennonite literature. They give personal and important insight into Arnold Dyck's work as writer, editor and publisher.

Ida H. Toews, Winnipeg, Manitoba



Video Review

The Birth of Anabaptism.

Abraham Friesen. (4824 East Butler Avenue) Fresno: Historical Commission of General Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church. 25 Min. \$25.00.

This video marks one of the first attempts by Mennonites to exploit the video format for the teaching of Mennonite history. Intended for use in "Sunday school, high school, Bible institute, college and home," should get high marks for the narrated text and historical interpretation of Anabaptist beginnings.

Historian Abraham Friesen has done a masterful job of writing a script which embeds the beginnings of the Anabaptist movement in 1525 firmly within the much broader sweep of Catholic Church history. In his presentation, Anabaptist origins in Zurich must be seen in the light of a long series of renewal efforts within Catholicism which attempted to restore the purity of the Apostolic Church.

My only caveat regarding the text is that Friesen makes almost no mention of the pacifist position of the Anabaptists at Zurich. This conviction already in the Fall of 1524, had become an important element of Grebel's understanding of the restored New Testament church. In form, some viewers may find the video somewhat dry and wordy. Apart from occasional cut-aways to still illustrations, the video is primarily a lecture with Friesen standing behind a podium speaking directly to the camera.

These criticisms aside, the Mennonite Brethren Historical Commission is to be congratulated for its pioneering work in this medium. **The Birth of Anabaptism** will indeed serve a worthy pedagogical purpose within the church.

John D. Roth, Goshen, Indiana



An Invitation **Mennonite Church Historical Association**

August 1, 1991

Five o'clock Dinner Meeting

Lane County Convention Center, Eugene, Oregon 91
"Activist and Archivist, a Historian's Personal Journey"

Samuel J. Steiner

Librarian and archivist of Conrad Grebel College

Author and editor of Mennogespräch

Past editor of Menno Pause


Secretary of Mennonite Conference of Eastern Canada

For reservations: Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church,
1700 South Main Street, Goshen, IN 46526
or call 219 535 7477 before July 10, 1991.



Heart of the World

Helen Stoltzfus and Albert Greenburg portray a Mennonite woman and a Jewish man exploring their history, culture and religious identity in the two-person drama Heart of the World. In the play, the married couple (Stoltzfus and Greenburg are also married to each other) discover painful and comical issues upon the birth of their first child: "Who will our child be?" Written by Stoltzfus and Greenburg and directed by Martha Boesing, the play was performed in January and February at Bethel College, Goshen College, and Eastern Mennonite College. Stoltzfus and Greenburg are a part of A Traveling Jewish Theater based in San Francisco. Helen Stoltzfus is the daughter of historian Grant M. Stoltzfus, an editor of the Mennonite Historical Bulletin from 1950 to 1974.

Photo: Alan Nomura 

News and Notes

"Communal Societies, Values and Structures," is the theme of the third conference of the International Communal Studies Association July 25-28 at Elizabethtown College in Pennsylvania. Speakers include Franklin Littell, Yuri Zamoshkin, Yaacov Oved, Donald F. Durnbaugh, and Carol Weisbrod. Pre- and post-conference tours are planned with the Amish in Lancaster and the Bruderhof Hutterites in western Pennsylvania. For information contact Donald Kraybill, Young Center for the Study of Anabaptist and Pietist Groups, Elizabethtown College, One Alpha Drive, Elizabethtown, PA 17022. Tel. 717 367 1151.

Joseph Schneider Haus Museum is hosting a symposium July 4-7 on "Continuity and Change: The Pennsylvania German Folk Culture in Transition." For information or registration contact Susan Burke, 466 Queen Street South, Kitchener N2G 1W7. Tel. 519 742 7752.

Lorraine Roth, Ontario genealogist, is completing a manuscript of Ontario women's stories to be published next year by the Ontario Women's Missionary and Service Commission and the Ontario Mennonite Historical Society. The stories emerge from women's experience in Ontario's Old Mennonite and Amish Mennonite congregations.

Victor Krahn has been awarded the third annual award (\$2,800) from the Frank H. Epp Memorial Fund. A

graduate student in sociology at the University of Waterloo, he will study the Mennonite immigrants from Mexico now living in southern Ontario.

J.R. Burkholder of Goshen, Indiana, will speak on "Mennonite Peace Commitment Since 1945" at the sixth Peace Theology Colloquium, June 21-23, at Columbia Bible College, Clearbrook, British Columbia. To register contact Margaret Neufeld, MCC Canada, 134 Plaza Dr., Winnipeg, MB R3T 5K9. Tel. 204 261 6381.

In January Reg Good began duties as associate archivist at the Mennonite Archives of Ontario of Conrad Grebel College. A doctoral student in Canadian history, he is the author of a history on First Mennonite Church in

Kitchener. Samuel Steiner, Conrad Grebel College librarian and archivist, will begin a six-month sabbatical in May.

Mifflin County, Pennsylvania, is having a Mennonite Amish Bicentennial Celebration June 29-30 at the Belleville Mennonite School. S. Duane Kauffman's book **The Mifflin County Amish and Mennonite Story, 1791-1991** will be released. For information, contact Trennis King, Mifflin County Mennonite Historical Society, Box 5603, Belleville, PA 17004. Tel. 717 935 2786.

Ken Reddig, after 11 years as archivist for the Canadian Mennonite Brethern Conference, has accepted a position as head of textual records and public service with the Provincial Archives of Manitoba.

The Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society is seeking a director for the **1719 Herr House Museum**. Send resume to Carolyn C. Wenger, Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, 2215 Millstream Road, Lancaster, PA 17602.

The Mennonite Church Historical Association is sponsoring a **1492-1992**

Symposium and commemorative October 19-20 at the Prince of Peace Mennonite Church, Corpus Christi, TX. Program details will appear in the **July Bulletin**.

Paul Toews of the Center for Mennonite Brethern Studies will give the closing address "Influence of Alternative Service on the Mennonite World: A Critical Evaluation" at the Mennonites and Alternative Service in World War II Conference May 30-June 1 at Goshen College. For more information on this major three-day event, write to Goshen College, Goshen, IN 46526 or call 219 535 7111.



Mennonite Church Historical Association



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Mennonite Historical Bulletin
Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church
1700 South Main Street
Goshen, IN 46526-4796
Telephone 219 535 7477
Forward and Address Correction

Non-profit
Organization
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PAID
Scottsdale, Pa
Permit No. 3

MIENNONITE

Historical Bulletin

Vol. LII

July 1991

ISSN 0025-9357

No. 3

The Mennonite Encyclopedia V:



A Record of Paradigm Shifts

By Sandra Cronk

Are you interested in looking up the latest research on Conrad Grebel, exploring the attitude toward sports at Mennonite colleges or finding out more about Belize, the country with the highest percentage of Mennonites in its population? If so, you will enjoy using the recently published fifth volume of the **Mennonite Encyclopedia**. Designed as a complement to the first four volumes of the **Mennonite Encyclopedia**, started by Harold S. Bender after World War II, ME V is more than a compendium of interesting articles. It is a record of Mennonite thought, particularly as it developed in the last

generation. This has been an era of paradigm shifts. New research and changing life styles have brought significant changes in the content and patterning of assumptions, interpretations, and historical frames of reference of many church and scholarly communities.

ME V reflects three major paradigm shifts: (1) a new view of Anabaptist-Mennonite origins, (2) a recognition of rapidly changing contemporary life styles, and (3) a developing global perspective.

The first of these shifts is the transformation in scholarly thought from Harold Bender's well-known "Anabaptist Vision" to a more pluralistic, analytical and "realistic" view of Anabaptist origins. Bender's

Volleyball at C.P.S. Camp Number 25, Weeping Water, Nebraska. "Sports" in the Mennonite Encyclopedia V "reviews the move from deep suspicion of team sports to an acceptance of many forms of team athletics at Mennonite colleges and schools." Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church

vision of Anabaptism, characterized by a commitment to nonconformity and separation from the world, discipleship, voluntary membership, adult baptism, and nonresistance inspired several generations of scholars and believers. In recent years, however, it has been criticized for being an ideal model. The very research inspired by Bender showed that there were many Anabaptist leaders and movements that did not fit



Marie Martin at Marlboro (N.J.) State Hospital, site of C.P.S. Camp Number 63. "One very significant element in the new patterns of family and work life among Mennonites has been the development of new roles for women." Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church

into this ideal type. The monolithic view of Anabaptist origins has now become pluralistic. Apocalyptic, humanist, anticlerical, mystical and sociopolitical ideas are now recognized as playing a part in early Anabaptist movements. Early leaders differed on their understanding of church-state relations and even on the use of the sword. Those interested in tracing these new understandings and the historical research supporting them might enjoy looking at the entry "Historiography, Anabaptist." The article "Anabaptism" outlines the

common themes that have come out of this diverse research as well as some of the current debates among scholars. Entries under the names of early Anabaptist leaders and relevant historical subjects supply helpful material. The bibliographies of most of these articles are geared for scholars who can read at least three languages (English, German and Dutch).

An interesting corollary of this paradigm shift regarding origins is the recognition that the descendants of all early leaders and movements have a place within the Anabaptist/Mennonite heritage. Diverse understandings of the many churches within the historical tradition are now accepted as part of the ongoing heritage. No one view sums up what the heritage can say about any topic. However, seemingly diverse branches may have had similar experiences that have not been previously acknowledged. An illustration is presented in the human interest piece (pages 4-5) on the similarities between two nineteenth-century Mennonite leaders: John F. Funk, bishop and publisher, in Indiana, and Johann Funk, Russian Mennonite leader in Canada.

The *Encyclopedia* reflects more work being done to critique earlier paradigms than to explore the adequacy of the present vision(s). With such heavy emphasis on a new interpretive framework of origins one might wish for more evaluation. The increased historical breadth and nuanced thought of the new paradigm has much to commend it. Yet one might ask how much the vision of pluralistic origins of the Anabaptist movement reflects our contemporary pluralistic age? How much does this new framework encourage individuals to move toward an eclectic view of faith? Is an analytical approach

The Mennonite Encyclopedia,
Volume V. Cornelius J. Dyck
and Dennis D. Martin, Eds.
Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press,
1990. Pp. 961. \$80.00.

sufficient undergirding for a community of faith? Is there a role for holistic vision and normative statement in scholarly work?

The second paradigm shift reflected in ME V is the change in popular life style. Many of the churches within the heritage had earlier been rural communities of faith, distinctly separated from 'the world' and identified by various visible symbols of nonconformity. These churches have become urbanized, acculturated communities which understand their faith as being lived in the midst, and addressing the needs, of the larger society. An enormous number of entries document this change.

"Amusements and Entertainment" shows the change in understandings of acceptable leisure-time activity.

"Sports" reviews the move from deep suspicion of team sports to an acceptance of many forms of team athletics at Mennonite colleges and schools. "Urbanization" documents the shift in residential patterns in many Mennonite groups. Rural living has given way to life in small towns and urban areas. Farming has become the occupation of a minority.

"Television and Mass Media" describes the change from opposition to film and TV to the use of the media for a variety of purposes perceived as consistent with faithful Christian living. These articles record, with respect and care, more conservative attitudes of Old Order, Old Colony, Hutterite and other traditional

The *Mennonite Historical Bulletin* is published quarterly by the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church and distributed to the members of the Mennonite Church Historical Association.

Editor: Levi Miller; Review editor: Steven D. Reschly; Design: Randall Horst; Contributing editors: Janeen Bertsche Johnson, Robert Charles, Sandra Cronk, Jan Gleysteen, Reg Good, Leonard Gross, Amos B. Hoover, Russell Krabill, Glenn M. Lehman, Joseph Liechty, Steven Nolt, John D. Roth, Ervin Schlabach, John E. Sharp, Dennis Stoesz, Gerald Studer, Wilmer Swope, Marilyn Voran, Rachel Waltner Goossen. Historical Committee: Rafael Falcón, Merle Good, Albert Keim, James O. Lehman, Hope Kauffman Lind, Steven D. Reschly, Samuel Steiner, Carolyn C. Wenger; Subscription and membership: Boyd Nelson.

Dues for subscription-membership in the Mennonite Church Historical Association (\$10 annual), inquiries, articles, or news items should be sent to the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church, 1700 South Main, Goshen, IN 46526. Telephone (219) 535-7477, FAX (219) 535-7660.

Microfilms of Volumes I-L of the *Mennonite Historical Bulletin* are available from: University Microfilms, Inc., 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.



"Significant steps have been taken toward a global perspective" in Mennonite Encyclopedia V. Mennonite Church in Jepara, Java, Indonesia. This is the historic meeting of church representatives and conference staff of Indonesia Muria (Mennonite) Christian Church for the official signing of the "Confession of Faith," January 31, 1958. Mrs. SIE Djioe Nio puts her signature on the confession as an honorary member; she was the widow of the founder of the church, TEE Siem Tat. Back row (from left, starting behind wooden divider): TAN Ing Tjan, SIE Giok Gian, TAN King Ien, DJWA Sien Gie, NIE Kok Siang, TAN Ping Goei. Middle row (from left): Unknown, TJOA Ing Liem, SIE Siok Gwat, TEE Thiam Kwie, Unknown, TAN Hao An [Herman Tann], KHO Tiang Ling, HOO Thiam Tjong, Unknown, Unknown, TAN King Han, TAN Bie Gwan, TAN King Siong, KHOE Sing Hwa, TAN Kiem Liat. Front row (from left, starting with man with outstretched hands): LIEM Soen Hian, THENG Tien Gwee, TJOA Oen Ling, Mrs. TAN Hoa An [Jo Tann], Mrs. TEE Siem Tat, SIE Lian Ing, SING Kiem Loe, ANG Swie Khing, SIE Tjoen Hoo, IE Hwat Joe, POEY Wie Gwan. Photo: Indonesia Muria Christian Church Collection, Archives of the Mennonite Church

communities in the Anabaptist-Mennonite family. It is clear, however, that the debates of many of these issues are no longer current for many of the larger, more acculturated bodies. New debates, however, arise about the meaning of discipleship in new cultural settings.

The article "Acculturation" describes this movement in Mennonitism and also reflects on it. It argues that acculturation is not necessarily the same as secularization or assimilation, and it outlines historical occasions when both acculturation and adherence to tradition have led to unfaithfulness.

Those interested will want to pursue a series of entries focusing on different aspects of this theme. The articles "Peace," "Nonresistance," "Love," and "Church-State Relations" are historical accounts of the transition from an understanding of faithfulness which means withdrawal from the world, to definitions which include active peacemaking, service, and the search for justice.

One very significant element in the new patterns of family and vocational life among Mennonites has been the development of new roles for women. This is an area where debate is still

very much alive within many communities. Given the strong feminist sentiments in so many Christian churches, I expected to see more expression of this sentiment in this volume. Two articles that speak to this are "Gender Roles" and "Headcovering." "Family" and "Marriage" outline the results of sociological studies on patriarchal and egalitarian family structures. *ME V* has made a special attempt to include more biographical entries of women. Most women mentioned were missionaries who devoted years of service abroad. Other entries include women who worked in various organizational and church-related capacities in their home countries. There was, apparently, less research available on the countless women in more traditional settings whose service was largely through homemaking, community-building and caregiving.

Another expression of this second paradigm shift and the sense of belonging to a wider cultural framework is the inclusion of many fine entries on theological subjects, e.g., Christology, church, atonement, Trinity, justification, salvation, sin, creation, ordinances, discipleship. Writers on these subjects define terms,

critique inherited Mennonite understandings in the light of wider theological perspectives, and outline historical and contemporary Anabaptist-Mennonite contributions to these areas of thought. A similar interpretive pattern is applied to a range of topics including justice, law, singleness, modernity, spiritual direction and spiritual formation, spiritual life, and pastoral counseling, to name only a few. Together they indicate a heritage in dialogue with many of the issues and movements of the larger society.

A third paradigm shift in *ME V* is evident, at least, in seed form. The introduction describes the intention of moving toward maximum global coverage rather than holding to an exclusively Western European and North American framework. Many entries include outlines on church history and sociopolitical developments in Latin America, Africa and Asia. Coverage of Mennonite history in Europe and North America remains extensive.

The editors recognized that global coverage would be difficult because research material for this wider perspective was often limited. Sometimes entries surveying

Mennonite contributions to theology and ethics do not mention non-Western sources. A separate entry "Theologies of the Two-Thirds World" is a useful addition, but space limitations make it difficult to grasp the significance of all the points mentioned in this fine piece. For example, the article states that African Christianity combines the belief in the Great God with respect for ancestors. It may not be clear to the general reader that African Christians are not simply fusing Christian thought with traditional reverence for ancestors. The Christian perspective, instead, may bring a significant critique to cultures where only certain people may become ancestors worthy of communal memory (men who died in old age, who had children, etc.). Jesus, who died childless, as a young adult, at the hands of enemies, allows the Christian community to reclaim all "left-out" and forgotten people.


Space limitations create substantial problems for a number of subjects devoted to non-Western thought. It was refreshing to see entries devoted to most of the major world religions, yet frustrating to see so little included. For example, the entry "Hinduism" was simply too brief to give much feel for this rich and variegated tradition, a situation that was undoubtedly beyond the control of both the author

and the editors, given the realities of publishing costs. The entry has no mention of the fascinating dialogue going on between some Hindu thinkers and Christian theologians. An overview of interpretive frameworks for missions is included, but space did not permit discussion of some of the exciting new understandings coming directly out of the work of Christian missionaries in India.

In spite of these problems, significant steps have been taken toward a global perspective. Entries under the names of countries and churches in the Two-Thirds World provide additional detail about non-Western modes of thought and practice. The entry "Gereja Injili Di Tanah Jawa" is a wonderfully exciting story of Christianity among the Javanese. It tells of Pieter Jansz, a missionary, who interpreted the Christian faith from the perspective of the pietist church of his own culture and Tunggul Wulung, a Javanese Christian, who interpreted the faith in terms drawn from the culture of the local people. Add to this the entry "Persatuan Gereja-Gereja Kristen Muria Indonesia," from the Chinese background (and a wonderful collection of related articles) and the reader can begin to glimpse the complexity of Christian thought and

historical development in a setting within the Two-Thirds World.

An outline of these three paradigm shifts barely begins to open up the wealth in ME V. The volume includes many new and updated topics which will be of use to the general reader and researcher alike. Articles on Mennonite history appear under a variety of headings: geographical areas; churches, conferences and church organizations; and major historical events (e.g., WWI and II). The biographical entries are vast. There are interpretive entries falling outside the frameworks outlined which hint at future paradigm shifts in the Mennonite thought world.

If my own experience is any indication, each reader will continue to carry on his or her own internal conversation with the writers about the various interpretive patterns presented. Church bodies will find the ME V a great aid as they wrestle with the questions of faithfulness in this generation. Historians and history buffs, theologians, pastors, church members, mission workers and interested general readers will be challenged and enriched as they make use of this volume. 

Sandra Cronk of Princeton, New Jersey, is a teacher of Quakerism and spiritual life studies.

The Mennonite Encyclopedia V: A Librarian's Perspective

By James O. Lehman

Imagine being a staff member in a library or archives and not having the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* (ME) to lean upon heavily. That now seems unthinkable! ME I-IV provided librarians and many others a marvelous source for brief information on almost every imaginable topic related to Mennonite and Anabaptist studies. Though dated now, it remains a classic and an indispensable beginning source for many topics.

Keeping an encyclopedia updated is a major task in today's fast-changing information age. The original volumes appeared in 1955, 1956, 1957, and 1959, each one getting larger and larger. Already by 1959 it was necessary to include a 100-page supplement. The

1969-73 revisions, which were done without changing the number of lines, represented another attempt to update without undergoing a major revision.

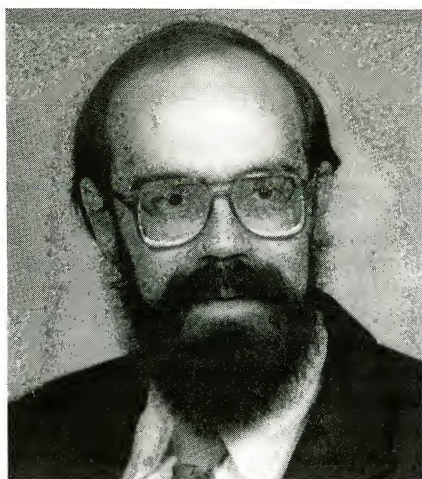
But with the great proliferation of literature in the Anabaptist-Mennonite world in the last several decades, it became urgent by the 1980s to do something again. ME V, from A to Z, became the result. It is a supplement, not a replacement of ME I-IV. Like most other encyclopedias, ME I-V should be considered a starting point for researching most topics. However, on many subjects it goes far beyond the usual encyclopedia, and for some it is the only conveniently written ready-reference English source.

The editors for ME V engaged in

careful analysis of the first four volumes and listened to a broad spectrum of advice and counsel. They accomplished in a satisfying manner what the preface claims to cover the intervening years since the first volumes, include themes ignored before, and especially to strengthen the apparent earlier weaknesses in global Mennonitism.

This volume makes major strides. Writers numbered 600, many of whom got involved in extensive research and correspondence, and nearly all of whom furnished articles without payment. That large investment of time and energy now provides librarians with another remarkable source.

The new maps are delightful. The one on Ohio serves as a prime example. Not only does it give one a quick overview of the many counties



Dennis D. Martin, associate editor of *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Volume V.

in which Amish and Mennonites are found, but the inset map of Ohio's greatest concentration in the counties of Wayne and Holmes contributes significantly to an understanding of the approximate numbers and locations. Some maps, like the one of Taiwan, are very simple, and represent a very small number of Mennonites.

Maps are very crucial to understanding history. One might wish that time and resources would have permitted maps of Pennsylvania, Kansas, Maryland and Virginia (to name a few) to be updated like the Ohio map.

A number of charts and tables are helpful. A demographic table such as the one on Mennonite populations by continents and countries on page 225 provides a quick grasp of global Mennonitism. Unfortunately, in an encyclopedia dated 1990, the figures cited are from 1984. Given the state of today's technology in desktop publishing, one wonders if some way might have been found to gain access to the 1990 *Mennonite World Handbook* figures.

The editors found delightful ways to lighten the seriousness and heaviness of this Mennonite tome. The "human interest features" such as "Julia Yellow Horse Shoulderblade: Cheyenne Minister," and the story of Menno Simons' "white lie" add unexpected touches to an encyclopedia. To find the features, however, one needs to look at the introductory pages to discover where to look. Don't overlook the entertaining "Offenbarungs Reima, Petikla Pitchy, and Hickerniss Hen:

Mennonite and Amish Nicknames."

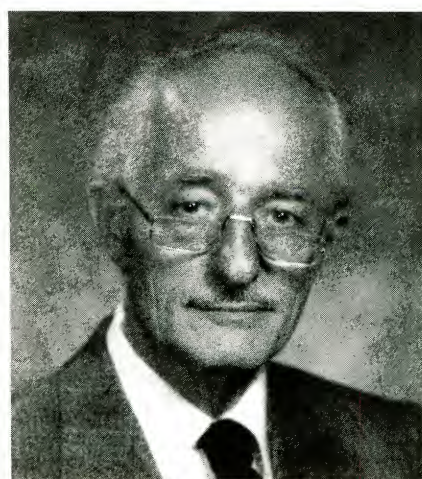
Many subjects receive excellent coverage for a one-volume supplement. Of course, not everyone will agree with the length and depth (or lack of it) on some topics. "Exorcism" got longer attention than the entry "Evangelism." However, one should note the spate of articles under missions, church planting, and evangelicalism that touch upon evangelism. Fortunately, the editors cast a wide net in the inclusion of topics. Predictably, it won't be hard for readers to think of a few more that might have been included. This reviewer, for example, would have liked to see an updated entry on the Apostolic Christian Churches, who are awakening to their own sense of history, roots, and connections to Mennonites.

Perhaps even a few Mennonite groups will think they received less than adequate attention. Those interested in the "Fellowship of Concerned Mennonites" may think they got short shrift. A serious attempt seems to have been made, however, to give brief and sympathetic entries to many new and small conservative Mennonite groupings.

Many not familiar with Mennonite terminology will be disappointed that no entry appears on the popular term "Pacifism." Four articles, one of them very long, appear under "Peace." Of course, "Nonresistance" was updated. An erudite entry on "Liberation Theology" clearly suggests a theologian talking to cohorts. The rather fertile bibliography, however, may assist further exploration.

This note brings up one of the most helpful and significant features of this volume. Bibliographies have been greatly emphasized, by many writers. This feature alone would virtually be worth the cost of the volume! They appear in fine print, but to the reader looking for good leads to additional literature, they become indispensable. The writer of "Anabaptist Historiography" declared his topic to be "inexhaustible," but the very long two-page bibliography goes far beyond normal expectations in an encyclopedia.

Regrettably, the editors needed to make some hard decisions. Space limitations generally led to shorter articles than in *ME I-IV*. Initial plans to use extensive photographs had to be dropped. Congregational entries were



Cornelius J. Dyck, editor of *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, Volume V.

lost too.

Some reference librarians will wish for a careful and thorough index. We now have the original four volumes, the supplement at the end of Volume Four, the 1969-73 changes, and this 1990 volume. Although everything is alphabetized, there are now several places to check to make sure something is not overlooked.

However, the editors provided excellent compromises. Good explanation is given on how to use the new volume in conjunction with the old. Single asterisks point to related articles appearing in *ME V*; double asterisks indicate attention given to that topic in *ME I-IV*. Very generous sprinklings of "see" and "see also" references are a great help. Hence, for the *Kleine Gemeinde* one finds no entry, but five articles are named in which one looks for information. Maneuvering non-English names, some with numerous diacritical marks (such as the names for the Mennonite branch of the Evangelical Church of Vietnam) takes careful work.

The editors deserve our deep gratitude for a monumental task that was done professionally and well. It should always be remembered, however, that Volume Five makes no pretense to replacing *ME I-IV*. All five volumes are indispensable for the foreseeable future. Hereafter one should always begin the search for information in Volume Five. *D*

James O. Lehman of Harrisonburg, Virginia, is director of libraries at Eastern Mennonite College.

Creating a Narrative of Nineteenth-Century Amish Life

By Steven D. Reschly

During the nineteenth century, every Amish community in North America encountered significant conflict, often resulting in schism. The dates and circumstances varied; splinter groups ranged from ultra-traditional to those that rejected all vestiges of Anabaptist identity. Echoes of these conflicts shake the spectrum of Amish and Mennonite churches to this day.

Information about the confusing histories of nineteenth-century Amish communities lay scattered in congregational and conference histories, memoirs of Amish leaders, the pages of John F. Funk's *Herald of Truth/Herold der Wahrheit*, church disciplines that circulated more or less informally, and regional and churchwide archives. One even finds information in the papers of scholars who studied and chronicled Amish and Mennonite history, such as John Umble and Harold S. Bender. A plethora of bits and pieces is strewn in correspondence among Amish leaders. Developing a coherent account of Amish life in the nineteenth century has proven extremely difficult.

The signal contribution of Paton Yoder's history consists in creating a narrative of these confusing and disparate sources. Yoder's storyline resembles the plot of a classic novel. Developing action in the creation and spread of Amish communities in several states is followed by descriptions of polity and beliefs at mid-century. The story's climax comes in attempts to maintain unity in the Amish faith, especially the Diener Versammlungen (ministers' meetings) 1862 to 1878, which were unable to prevent the disastrous Great Schism. A denouement charts the separation and development of the two major paths taken by Amish communities: the tradition-minded Old Order Amish and the change-minded Amish Mennonites.

The focus on mid-century schism stems, in part, from the natural drama of events and personalities, but also from Yoder's position as an Amish Mennonite descendent. Just as Alex Haley found his roots in West Africa,

**Tradition and Transition:
Amish Mennonites and Old
Order Amish, 1800-1900.**
Paton Yoder. Scottdale, Pa.:
Herald Press, 1991. Pp. 359.
\$28.95.

Yoder discovered his own village "griot" in ministers' meeting minutes and letters exchanged by ancestors. The perspective of descent is usually not intrusive, although "our Amish forbears" appears at least once in the text (page 140), and the preface mentions the need to recover "our Amish and Amish Mennonite origins" (page 17).

In fact, when compared with other recent works that recount parts of the Amish story, especially the Mennonite Experience in America volumes by Richard MacMaster (*Land, Piety, and Peoplehood*) and Theron Schlabach (*Peace, Faith and Nation*), these latter works will now seem even more to reflect a Mennonite narrative into which the Amish are placed. In the final analysis, *Tradition and Transition* may be more successful in presenting an Amish Mennonite viewpoint than following an Old Order Amish perspective, despite Yoder's commitment to fairness and objectivity.

Yoder refers to his book, with appropriate Amish-style humility, as "raw material" for other scholars wishing to conduct more analytical studies of nineteenth-century Amish history. Indeed, the text itself will serve as a cache of information where readers can get data for a wide variety of purposes.

However, three other outcomes follow the publication of this book. *Tradition and Transition* offers a narrative structure for other scholars to test, refine and revise; a set of new topics for further research; and a map of sources to guide the perplexed.

Following cues provided by John A. Hostetler and others, Yoder traces the immigration of Amish families and individuals from Europe to North America, and posits an early period

when Amish communities nearly ended. Joining the Mennonites and Dunkers, loss of children to the larger society, and lax family and church discipline all had to be stopped before the Amish communities could stabilize and maintain a clear distinction between themselves and mainstream American culture.

Using several early nineteenth century church disciplines written by ad hoc regional gatherings of ordained leaders, Yoder shows the increasing strictness of lifestyle guidelines and restrictions. He theorizes that they show the expanding control of church over family and individual. One may ask whether it is appropriate to abstract "church" from household and kinship in the Amish experience. A key phrase in an 1837 Somerset County, Pennsylvania, discipline states that "the parents shall not go unpunished" for instances of bundling.

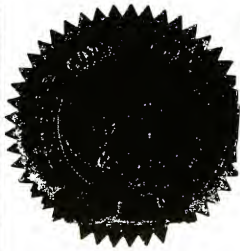
The use of parental authority to enforce community moral standards finds a precedent in early modern Germany, according to Hans Medick. Because of associations with sexual impropriety, authorities used *Hausvater* ideology to suppress folk institutions such as the *Spinnstube* (work and play gatherings of young men and women). One should at least note the strengthening of household, usually paternal, authority in conjunction with the reinforced use of congregational banning and shunning to enforce lifestyle distinctions.

Following his description of the "Era of Consolidation," roughly 1800 to 1850, Yoder portrays Amish polity and beliefs at mid-century. Concepts and structures of congregational governance and the importance of continuing obedience to the *Ordnung* receive effective treatment, although an irritating confusion between "counsel" and "council" as the term of choice for congregational meetings mars the text (pp. 44, 46 and elsewhere).

The Amish bishops' (actually, "full servants" in the German language) delicate balance of leading and following while "keeping house"

THE STATE OF OHIO,

WAYNE COUNTY, SS.



On Motion, And it appearing to the satisfaction of the Probate Judge of said County that the Rev. John K. Yoder is a regularly ordained MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, of the denomination commonly called "Amish Mennonite."

It is Ordered, That he be LICENSED to solemnize Marriages within the State of Ohio, so long as he continues to be such Minister.

Witness my Official Signature, And the Seal of said Court, at Wooster, in said County, this 5th day of August A. D. 1862.

Thomas Johnson Probate Judge.

1862 Ministerial Certificate of John K. Yoder (1824-1906), Oak Grove Amish Mennonite bishop, and moderator of the 1864 Amish Mennonite Diener Versammlung (ministers' meeting) in Wayne County, Ohio. Archives of the Mennonite Church.

(implementing church discipline) is especially poignant. The peculiarly feminine terminology deserves further reflection.

Yoder next shows the tensions of change-minded and tradition-minded Amish persons around the issues of baptism in stream or house and the duties of "full deacons." These problems, if nothing else, provide a salutary antidote to presentism in Amish studies, since very few of the critical concerns of the 1850s remain issues today. Divisions occurred in northern Indiana (by 1857), eastern Ohio (by 1861), and Mifflin County, Pennsylvania (1862) in rapid succession. The radical innovation of

churchwide ministers' meetings as a last-ditch attempt at unity could not resolve the conflicts.

Yoder establishes that change-minded leaders instigated and operated the *Diener Versammlungen*, which met annually, for the most part, from 1862 to 1878. The conservatives opted out after failing to make their voice heard in the 1865 gathering. In fact, Yoder offers the intriguing proposition that the annual meetings actually hastened the process of division by clarifying and hardening the areas of disagreement. Hence, the year 1865 not only marks a series of momentous events in American history, the year serves as the date

when one can begin to use the terms Amish Mennonite and Old Order Amish to distinguish the change-minded and tradition-minded factions.

The chapters on the *Diener Versammlungen* and the Great Schism are the strongest section of Tradition and Transition. Yoder's effective use of correspondence among leaders, and minutes kept at the meetings, allows new insights into these struggles for church unity and the reasons for their failure. Both factions, Yoder says, rejected compromise in the heat of the conflict. The conservative ministers' position paper (printed in full on pp. 167-68), drawn up just before the 1865 meeting, broached no negotiation, and the liberals were just as determined to win the day.

But the day was lost, and both factions went their separate ways after 1865. The Amish Mennonites passed through years of further division while lurching toward reunion with the Mennonite Church. The Old Order Amish continued to practice separation from the world in close communities.

Yoder's narrative could have used a concluding chapter to pull together and reinforce the patterns he discovered. Maps would aid in understanding the geography of Amish settlement and growth, as well as the spread of conflict and division. The few photographs are well-chosen, leading the reader to wish for more. The index is thorough and helpful, and the cover photo is beautiful. Behind a horse-drawn wagon lightning rends the sky like the powerful and unpredictable forces which split so many nineteenth-century Amish communities.

In addition to a story line, a number of topics for further research appear or are implied in Yoder's book: westward migration and the establishing of new communities; the relationship of Amish settlers to the frontier; the reciprocal influence of contiguous Amish and Mennonite churches; local community studies; and biographies of Amish leaders.

One would be especially interested in the relationship of this Amish story to developing themes in American historiography: the social history of the Civil War period, women's history, ethnic differences in agricultural communities, and the culture of Revivalism and reform. Yoder hints at

a few connections with American history (a Turnerian tone in "the leveling influence of the frontier" on page 31), but on the whole his Amish story is rather self-contained.

Finally, *Tradition and Transition* provides a road map to sources for Amish history. The extensive notes refer the reader to books, journal articles, archival collections, unpublished manuscripts, and many other publications and documents. In this connection, a bibliography would have made the book more useful for historians and scholars in other disciplines. Yoder's painstaking research and conscientious documentation contribute a foundation for historians to build upon.

Paton Yoder's *Tradition and Transition* furnishes Amish historiography with raw material, narrative structure, topics for future research and a guide to sources. These are important accomplishments. The book does not encompass every aspect of nineteenth-century Amish history; it does point in the right direction. *W*

Steven D. Reschly of Iowa City, Iowa, is doing rural social history in a nineteenth-century Amish community in Iowa.



Paton Yoder (second row, second from right) and classmates at Eight Square School in Elkhart County, Indiana, ca. 1921.



The Silvanus and Susie Yoder Family in December, 1921: Samuel, Susie, Ruth, Paton, Rhea, Silvanus, Jonathan.

Paton Yoder: Reclaiming His Amish Roots

By Steven Nolt

Four years after historian and author Paton Yoder was born, his family's Amish Mennonite congregation painted over the word "Amish" on its church sign. The group had recently merged with the local Mennonite conference and was hastening to separate itself from its Amish roots. Some sixty years later, Yoder began working to rediscover, reclaim, and re-communicate that lost Amish heritage. Readers of Amish and Mennonite history are much richer for his work.

Yoder's own family background is in the progressive Amish Mennonite movement, he notes, which he believes allows him somewhat of an insider's perspective on the division of the *Diener Versammlungen* (Amish ministers' meetings). "My family was one hundred percent Amish back to the big split," Yoder says with a grin. Yet, while he was growing up in his native Elkhart County, Indiana, Yoder's Amish Mennonite congregation was very quickly losing its Amish identity. He himself lived through a time of tradition and transition within Amish Mennonite history. "We were just late enough that

we called ourselves Mennonite," Yoder recalls. "We weren't ashamed of our roots, though," he maintains, citing his parents' deliberate attempt to raise Yoder and his siblings with the Pennsylvania German dialect.

The Amish members of his elementary school class, as well as the largely Amish thrashing crew with which he worked while in high school and college, kept his connections with the Amish communities strong.

For most of Yoder's adult life, however, his Amish heritage was less than a conscious part of his identity. As an American history professor and college administrator, Yoder's career took him and his family to church-related colleges in five states. Few colleagues at Westmont, Taylor, or Malone College, for example, knew much about the Amish, much less of Yoder's connections to them. Except for nine years at Hesston College, Yoder moved largely outside of Mennonite and Amish circles.

Yet, Yoder's sense of heritage still "stuck out" at times. "I did go out of my way to assert my pacifist views," he says. Such an assertion in nondenominational settings during the

Second World War must have made an impression, as fifty years later one student recalled, that a most memorable lecture was Yoder's explanation of Christian nonresistance.

The pull of Yoder's heritage eventually brought him back to a personal reclamation and scholarly study of his Amish past. "If we hadn't felt strongly about our roots, it would have been very easy to leave" the Anabaptist-Mennonite tradition while teaching at nondenominational schools, he says. Instead, Yoder returned to Elkhart County and a study of his past.

In retirement Yoder began dipping into his family's history. He researched the life of "Tennessee" John Stoltzfus, a leading Amish church figure of the nineteenth century who was Yoder's great grandfather. That published biography, *Eine Würzel* (1979), started Yoder down the path of studying Amish church history.

In 1982 Yoder came across an "incomparable" cache of "Tennessee" John's private letters. The correspondence provided previously unknown information about Amish church affairs. The letters were "the

biggest gold nugget that this goldminer ever found," Yoder says, recalling with satisfaction his first acquaintance with the "Tennessee" John mail.

The first reading of the correspondence came after considerable effort, however, Yoder recalls, noting that he had to "re-learn" German in order to do so. Yoder was convinced the letters revealed so much new material on nineteenth century Amish affairs that they demanded a retelling of the story. He edited and published the documents and then set to work on a new narrative history of nineteenth century Amish church life—**Tradition and Transition**.

Yoder claims a lot of "personal satisfaction" from his efforts. "I have a better understanding of my roots," he says, "and I would like others to find the same satisfaction." "The Amish Mennonites have lost their identification," Yoder laments. "Most families—and even congregations—which were Amish don't know about their heritage," he has found. He hopes his dozen years of work will start to rebuild that lost memory for others.

Yoder's own pilgrimage to his roots has led him to have more respect for and appreciation of the Amish and their theology. Amish theology may seem "fairly strongly works oriented" to the outsider, Yoder admits. But having read the Amish authors and church leaders of the past and present, he sees quite a bit of humility and grace. "My roots are Amish," he comments. "They're not perfect, but I wouldn't trade them for Lutheran or Calvinist."

Yoder says he's "about projected-out," when asked what his next research assignment will be. Yet, within several minutes he lists a number of on-going projects which he would like to see completed. "If I were ten years younger," he muses, "I would write an Amish novel."

Those interested in Amish heritage can certainly hope that Yoder continues to allow his personal search for roots to involve him in researching and retelling the Amish story. *W*

Steven Nolt works at The People's Place in Intercourse, Pennsylvania.

'The Radicals' As History: A Creditable Film

By Walter Klaassen

Written history is the most common medium by which the story of Anabaptism has been shared. Now comes film. This medium is much more complex than a book, for the visual image is primary and much is communicated without words, even though the words, too, are important. Even a feature-length film has severe time limits when compared with a book, modest in length though it be.

The Radicals attempts to do a great deal in 90 minutes. While presenting the story of Michael and Margaretha Sattler, it has to do it in a way that will make that story intelligible in its 1520s religious, social, and political setting in Western Europe. Given the complexity of the task and a limited budget, the script-writers and producers have done a creditable job of it. They have taken liberties with strict chronologies, they have telescoped the events of months or years into episodes, they have simplified, all in order to tell an important story. Film makers have to

do that; the nature of the medium demands it. There will of necessity be some "distortions" in chronology and a story line in which a series of episodes are connected by the viewer from clues in the picture or by subtitles.

So **The Radicals** cannot basically be faulted on those scores. It would be nitpicking to argue that the scene between Sattler and Zwingli in prison is fiction. The point is that it is credible. To argue a fault in portraying Zwingli in somewhat negative colors because it is not good ecumenical manners in our century, is to ignore that historians sympathetic to Zwingli indicate that there was a hard edge to this man, that he never expressed regret for the execution of Felix Mantz, a one-time disciple and friend. The film accurately picked up and illustrated the link of early Anabaptism with the broader peasant movement for liberation from economic and religious misery. The early uncertainty about the use of the sword is there.

The Radicals. 16 mm film. 100 Min. Produced by Sisters and Brothers. Available from Gateway Films, 2030 Wentz Church Road, Box 540, Worcester, PA 19490. Telephone 1 800 523 0226. Rental \$85.

The film clearly identified the fact which perhaps most contributed to Sattler's death, namely his words about the refusal to take up arms against the Turks. If that sentiment had caught on among the citizenry, it could have turned Europe over to Islam. The film also illustrates a common feature of Christian Europe's attempt to deal with Anabaptists, namely, to charge them with civic rather than religious crimes. That way Anabaptists were *prosecuted*, not *persecuted*, a technical difference it may seem today, but nevertheless an important one. Felix Mantz was convicted and executed on the basis of law; the Zwinglians and Lutherans especially were sensitive to being



Michael (Norbert Weisser) and Margaretha (Leigh Loutarde) Sattler: gentler than the steely letter writing M.S.

called persecutors.

The following comments are made with the acknowledgment that the reviewer cannot judge to what degree his suggestions would increase both the cost and the length of *The Radicals*. But they are factors in the story of which discriminating viewers ought to be aware.

1. The use of the term Roman Catholic Church is anachronistic, as also is the clear distinction between Catholics, protestants, and Anabaptists as though they were three distinct churches in 1525. Everyone, including Anabaptists, knew there was only one church. There were, however, a variety of views about how that church should be reformed. Michael Sattler did indeed, as so many others of his time, leave the monastic life, but he never would have said "I'm leaving the church." He went in search of other ways of being in the church.

The use of these labels pushed modern North American religious pluralism back into the sixteenth century. There were no denominations then. Even Anabaptists never referred to themselves as Anabaptists as they do in the film. They rejected the name because, they said, it perpetrated a fiction about them. The subtitles "Catholic Territory" and "Protestant Territory" are perhaps a necessary shortcut in the interests of moving the story along.

2. Although the portrayal of Zwingli by Christopher Neame seems accurate enough, some of the ways in which reformed Zurich is depicted could have been avoided—and created a stronger story. My main criticism is over the way the Zurich Council is characterized. It was never a "secular" council, as some Anabaptist in the film calls it. Even for Anabaptists the issue was not secular or churchly, not whether members were merchants or churchmen. It was understood by all that they were both. The issue was whether they were Zwingli-followers and therefore reformed, or defenders of the Pope and therefore unreformed, whether they were "evangelicals" or old believers.

Loyal adherents of the old church remained in the Council until 1527, and, incidentally, Conrad Grebel's father was an old believer, not a defender of Anabaptism as the film leads us to believe. That the city council made church decisions with the power to back them up with sanctions was always accepted in Zurich and was not an invention of Zwingli. Even the early Anabaptists accepted that until some time in 1526. And please note: Zwingli would never have baptized a child into "the church of the people," but always and only into the church of Christ.

3. In the scene of the first baptism as well as at Schleithem the film shows a

kind of jocular mood. I believe this to be quite out of place, not because our ancestors could not laugh, but because both events were "pressure cooker" events. Do you make jokes when your head is on the block? Then it should be black humor or satire but not living room jokes, please. They trivialize highly dramatic events.

Sattler's uncertainty about whether the Turks are without Christ again introduces a common modern pluralist notion into Swiss Anabaptism. There were indeed some in the sixteenth century who were uncertain about that, but Sattler was emphatically not one of them. Incidentally, his words about the Turks at his trial were not original with him. Similar views can be documented back to at least 1440.

4. Although Mark Lenard (Hoffman), Christopher Neame (Zwingli), and Leigh Loutarde (Margaretha) create believable characters, Norbert Weisser (Sattler) and Dan Perrett (Reublin) do not. That appears to be the fault not of the actors but of casting. Weisser's Michael Sattler is a much gentler person than the steely M.S. we meet in his writings and in the trial record. Sattler's letter reveals a warm pastoral heart, but it also reveals little patience with human weakness or views different from his own.

The most flawed miscasting is undoubtedly Dan Perrett as Wilhelm Reublin. On the screen we meet an impetuous youngster barely out of his teen years. In fact, Reublin was at least 40 years old, by the standards of the time, in advanced middle age. He was a social radical, at times with a foul mouth. Not a youthful idealist, but a kind of old "trade union Bolshevik." He was a calculator and therefore perhaps somewhat cynical. Such a man would indeed have been a fitting candidate as a "false brother," and much more dangerous than Dan Perrett.

For all that, this is, to date, the best Mennonite effort at film-making, and a very good beginning. I went to my first viewing of it with reservations, but it caught me unawares and moved me. *W*

Walter Klaassen of Vernon, British Columbia, was editor of the journal *Conrad Grebel Review* (1983-1987).



Arkadiusz and Zyta Rybak with the pickets for a new fence to place around the Mennonite cemetery at Stogi (Heubuden), Poland. Arkadiusz Rybak, director of agriculture for the Elblaskie Province, will assist a Mennonite-Polish Friendship Association work camp in restoring this cemetery August 1-21. Photos: Jan Gleysteen Collection

New Polish-Mennonite Associations Emerge

By Gerald C. Studer

Several new associations have emerged in the last two years which have as their purpose the recovery of the experience that Mennonites have had in Poland and the contributions that they have made while there. The organizations are Hans Denk Fellowship and Mennonite-Polish Friendship Association.

These initiatives have come as much from representatives of the Polish people as from the Mennonite people themselves. The particular interest of Hans Denk Fellowship is initially theological, and Mennonite-Polish Friendship Association, historical.

The vision of the newly-founded Hans Denk Fellowship was that of the German Mennonite Helmut Reimer of Düsseldorf and Horst Heidebrecht of Wuppertal. It began toward the end of 1988 with a focus on their interest on the question: "What do Mennonites believe about life after death?" Reimer had already combed the Mennonite cemeteries near his birthplace in northern Poland and had copied the tombstone texts, gathering data toward finding an answer to his question.

He had also inquired of his fellow-Mennonites in America what they believed on this topic and was directed to Minister Gerald Studer's book *After Death-What?* Reading this book further fired his interest, so much so that he and a friend, Marga Wolters, made a German-language translation of the entire book.

Reimer prepared displays about Mennonite views of life after death, Mennonite cemeteries in West Prussia, and the history of the Polish Mennonite Church. He took these exhibits to the twelfth Assembly of the Mennonite World Conference in Winnipeg in 1990 where the first official meeting of the Fellowship was held July 28 at the Holiday Inn. Five of the Hans Denk Fellowship's twelve members were present, plus other interested persons.

There was some discussion on why Hans Denk was chosen as the Fellowship's namesake or "patron." Several reasons were given: his emphasis on the necessity of following Christ in daily life; his ecumenical and irenic spirit; his belief in free will and the dignity of every person. Purpose of the Fellowship is: "Faced with the

materialism that is growing in an alarming measure since the middle of the last century,... we want to try humbly to elicit the spiritual convictions to be discovered in the Anabaptist-Mennonite heritage and to awaken them to new life." To date, two issues of an occasional English-language newsletter have been published.

Two Polish guests were present: W. Marchlewski and Mr. Walkowiak. The former shared his plan to organize a foundation in Warsaw with an interest in preserving some remains of Mennonite history, assisting people who want to do research and publishing some of the findings. He stated further that this foundation would bear the name of Jan Laski (1499-1560), the great Polish reformer who helped Menno Simons and his friends.

Another effort to recover an appreciation for the Mennonite legacy that helped shape life along the Vistula is the Mennonite-Polish Friendship Association. In recent years a number of Poles have expressed a desire to create closer ties with Mennonites. The most recent effort came from a representative of the Pentecostal congregation now meeting in the former Mennonite church in Gdansk who sent a proposal to Peter J. Klassen, author of *A Homeland for Strangers* (Fresno, 1989). The proposal was that a memorial plaque be placed in the church which is now scheduled for unveiling, June 25, 1991.


Anticipated activities of this association include placing appropriate historical markers, facilitating study of Mennonite life in Poland and Prussia, and helping to preserve tangible evidence of Mennonite life in these areas. Peter J. Klassen of California State University serves as chair of the Association and Paul Toews of the Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies is secretary-treasurer. Both are associated with Fresno (California) Pacific College.

A work and study camp is scheduled for August 1-21, 1991, in Stare Pole for the restoration of the cemetery in Stogi, the seat of the largest Mennonite congregation in the Vistula region. Edmund Kisik of the University of Gdansk and Arkadiusz Rybak plan to assist with some of their students. The plan is to start with a Mennonite archive as a preparation for

the proposed museum.

The Eastern Europe Mennonite tour scheduled for June 22-July 12, 1991, is largely an effort of the Fresno-based effort to help the Mennonite diaspora from Poland rediscover its own past. This group visited most of the visible legacies of the Mennonite sojourn in the Vistula Delta region and was in conversation with a series of Polish scholars familiar with the Mennonite story and with the religious groups now using the Mennonite meetinghouses.

Paul Toews summarized the purpose of the tour and Association thus: "Because the story of the Mennonite presence there has largely been obliterated in the Polish memory, we hope that in addition to rediscovering a lost part of the Mennonite story we might also help reestablish a sense of the Mennonite witness and contribution in these lands."

All these efforts provide an excellent opportunity for both an awareness of and a reconciliation with the Polish people who are the descendants of the hosts of their Mennonite ancestors. 

Gerald C. Studer of Lansdale, Pennsylvania, is conference minister of the Atlantic Coast Mennonite Conference.

Hans Denk Fellowship

Helmut Reimer, Hagenstr. 60, D-4000 Düsseldorf 12, Germany; North Americans may contribute to the organization through Wilhelm Harder, 15 Broadmead Ave., Scarborough, Ont. M1M 1C3 Canada. Donations are not tax deductible.

Mennonite-Polish Friendship Association

Peter J. Klassen, 1838 Bundy, Fresno, CA 93727; memberships (individual \$20, institutional \$50) should be made out to the Mennonite Heritage Centre (600 Shaftsbury Blvd., Winnipeg, MB R3P 0M4), designated for the Mennonite-Polish Association, or sent to the Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies, 4824 East Butler, Fresno CA 93727.

Book Reviews

Within the Perfection of Christ: Essays on Peace and the Nature of the Church. Eds., Terry L. Brensinger and E. Morris Sider. Nappanee, IN: Evangel Press and Brethren in Christ Historical Society, 1990. Pp.226. \$12.95.

Martin Schrag taught church history at Messiah College for many years. He was responsible for stimulating renewed interest among the Brethren in Christ in their Anabaptist heritage. This volume is a collection of essays written in recognition of his retirement. The title comes from the article on the sword in the Schleithem Confession. The Anabaptists believed the sword had no place "within the perfection of Christ."

The origins of the Brethren in Christ Church are found not only among the heirs of the Anabaptists (the Mennonites in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in the 1700s), but also within Pietism (the revivalism of the Great Awakening). Among Mennonites, Anabaptism is frequently portrayed as the ideal manifestation of New Testament Christianity. The experience for the Brethren in Christ is somewhat different. While they hold great respect for the Anabaptist tradition, they also consciously seek to be faithful to another model (Pietism). The two do not always seem to complement each other. Thus the Brethren in Christ will at times speak of contemporary expressions of Anabaptist witness as a "burden" for the church.

The wide variety of topics within this work provides interesting reading. The book is organized around the teachings on peace and the nature of the church, as the subtitle suggests. There is discussion of the biblical, historical and practical aspects of the subject. By its very nature such a compilation tends to bring together the favorite research projects of colleagues. Much of the material has been presented by the writers in greater detail elsewhere. While such a project may lack the depth a single author might produce, it does provide a good overview of the interests of the contributors. This kind of introduction can be helpful for many Mennonites to attain a better understanding of the unique history of the Brethren in Christ.

Erv Schlabach, Millersburg, Ohio

Jesus Christ and the Mission of the Church: Contemporary Anabaptist Perspectives. Ed., Erland Waltner. Newton, KS: Faith and Life Press, 1990. Pp.141. \$9.95.

This book contains three addresses and other papers from the 1989 conference on Christology at Normal, Illinois. The impetus for this consultation came from missions agencies at Mennonite World Conference in 1984, not from the controversy surrounding C. Norman Kraus's more recent book.

The respective writers portray Jesus as the "unparalleled and unsurpassable means of salvation," as convener "of God's end-time people to build the church," and as "a radical social transformer" typified by the cross. Issues which remain unresolved include the relevance of the creeds for Anabaptist-Mennonites, the church's correlation to the kingdom of God, and the relationship between Jesus as ethical paradigm and Jesus as Savior.

The emphasis that Jesus' ministry continues in the church also begs for explicit attention to the Holy Spirit. The report from the Findings Committee is a good introduction to the issues in the conversation, and the presenters are to be commended for rarely making technical language a barrier for laypersons.

Nate Yoder, Goshen, Indiana

None But Saints: The Transformation of Mennonite Life in Russia, 1789-1889. James Urry. Winnipeg, MB: Hyperion Press, 1989. Pp. 328. Paper, \$19.95.

This history of nineteenth-century Russian Mennonitism is the fruit of an unlikely scholarly pilgrimage. British-born James Urry, while pursuing a degree in anthropology, became interested in conservative Mennonite groups of Latin America. In an effort to understand their past, he eventually produced a doctoral dissertation on the Russian Mennonites. Urry now teaches anthropology in New Zealand, but remains active in Mennonite scholarship. In 1990 he spent an academic leave in Winnipeg, researching Canadian Mennonite history.

Urry builds on the earlier work of David G. Rempel, who described a "Mennonite commonwealth" that emerged in Russia by the 1880s. Urry attributes the increasing social

mobility among Mennonites to the development of educational institutions, and emphasizes Mennonite linkages to the broader Russian cultural milieu. Some readers will be disappointed at the scant attention paid to religious aspects of Russian Mennonite life. Still, **None But Saints** is an engaging work and a notable contribution on the history of Mennonite education.

Rachel Waltner Goossen, Goessel, Kansas

Theology in Postliberal Perspective. Daniel Liechty. Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990. Pp. 114. \$10.95.

Trackless Wastes and Stars to Steer By. Michael A. King. Scottdale: Herald Press, 1990. Pp. 180. \$14.95.

These two books come from the oldest Mennonite church in North America—Germantown in Philadelphia. Both are an attempt at a Christian theology and both mediate between the world of academic biblical and theological studies and the theologically literate member. Both writers were born in 1954, baby-boomer Mennonites trying to come to terms with their traditions, Christian commitments, the modern world and pacifism.

For Liechty, the base from which to construct a theology is "the creative, transcending and loving promptings of the soul and spirit," which is contrasted with the denial and oppression he associates with orthodox Christian faith. This is clearly more of a Quaker universalist God than the Mennonite biblical God.

Anabaptist Mennonites should agree with his attempt to give ethics primary importance in constructing a Christian theology. But when one examines his ethical concerns, they appear to be little more than trendy "politically correct" thoughts rather than explicitly biblical or Christian norms. Liechty, author of **Andreas Fischer and the Sabbatarian Anabaptists** (Herald Press, 1988), is a keen cultural analyst and skillful writer.

If Liechty is leaving his Mennonite home, King is trying to find it. King's is a personalistic attempt at Christian theology which tries to embrace both his Mennonite "Aunt Evie" (page 13) and George Lindbeck's "New Yale theology."

Unlike an older generation of Mennonite theologians which was trying to break free from its separatist history, King seems to wonder whether he may have not gone too far into modernity's relativism, individualism and secularism. He wonders how far we can go in translating the Bible into modernity without losing "our capital." "That capital is the assumption, remnant of a discarded separatism, that the Bible matters. How long can one spend that assumption, so to speak, before emptying the wallet?" (page 69).

Don't expect to find him either in the traditional Mennonite colony or the secular city, but his 166 pages of theological search provide some starry light in the darkness. King is part of the pastoral leadership at Salford Mennonite Church and a book editor for Herald Press.

Levi Miller, Goshen, Indiana

Mennonites of the Washington County, Maryland and Franklin County, Pennsylvania Conference. Daniel R. Lehman. Eastern Mennonite Publications (431 Royer Road, Lititz, PA 17543), 1990. Pp. 644. \$35.00.

The intertwining of family and church community stands out in this history of conservative Mennonite congregations and the conference they formed. The mass of details spills over with names, especially of "prominent" families. In congregational histories, biographical sketches of ordained men frequently develop their personalities with description and anecdote. For example, minister Adam Baer never preached long sermons because, he said, "I want you to be hungry for something next time I preach" (p. 213).

The Sunday school, millennialism, and revival meetings were issues of controversy much longer here than in most Mennonite conferences. This history concludes with the year 1960, before most of the major defections would occur, which by 1990 had divided the conference into seven groups.

Readers not rooted in this conference may get lost at times. Careful editing might have caught typos and helped reduce repetition. Some readers will wish for less genealogy and chronology and more theme and analysis. Some "problems" are detailed pointedly; other are not. Ungarnished accounts and candid

assessments give a freshness to this history and make it a respectable blend of oral tradition and written documentation. This book is an important addition to the shelf of regional Mennonite histories.

Hope Lind, Eugene, Oregon 

Recent Publications

Entz, Jacob. **Family Register Jacob Entz.** 1987. Pp. 32. Order from Ernestine Pankratz Manz, 318 River St., Paynesville, MN 56302.

Goering, Orlando and Violet. **The Benjamin B.J. and Anna Goering Family Record 1891-1989.** 1989. Pp. 79. \$15.00. Order from Orlando J. Goering, 1140 Ridgecrest, Vermillion, SD 57069.

Hershey, John W., **The Descendants of Peter and Barbara Buckwalter Hershey.** 1989. Pp. 110.


Kinsey, Marjorie Blocher. **Blough Family History.** 1989. Pp. 264. \$22.00. Order from Marjorie Kinsey, 1612 Southeast Blvd., Evansville, IN 47714.

Lehman, James O. **Uncommon Threads: A Centennial History of Bethel Mennonite Church.** 1990. Pp. 250. \$22.00. Order from Bethel Mennonite Church, 416 Washington St., West Liberty, OH 43357.

Mason, Floyd R. and Kathryn G. **Ziegler Family Record-Revised.** 1990. Pp. 672. \$32.90. Order from Marie Mason Flory, 608 Green St., Bridgewater, VA 22812.

Roth, Lorraine. **The Family History and Genealogy of Christian Steinmann and Veronica Eyer.** 1990. Pp. 432. \$28.00. Order from Lorraine Roth, 411-65 Westmount Rd.N., Waterloo, Ont. N2L 5G6.

Swartzentruber, Edna. **Family Record of Peter M. Yoder and Magdalena Gingerich.** 1990. Pp. 266. \$10.00.

Ulrich, Roy and Rebecca. **One Generation Shall Praise Thy Works to Another.** 1990. Pp. 249. 

News and Notes

Cristobal Colón and the Mennonites, 1492-1992 is the theme of a symposium at the Prince of Peace Mennonite Church in Corpus Christi, Texas, October 19-20. Speakers include José Matamoros, Levi Miller, Elmer Myron, and José Ortíz.

Abe Dueck has been named director of the Center for Mennonite Brethren Studies at the Mennonite Brethren Bible College in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

Four gatherings of people interested in the historic traditions of plainness, peace and community are planned in eastern Pennsylvania. Sponsored by the "School of the Spirit," they include: Dunker (Brethren) worship, September 22, at Klein's Meetinghouse, Harleysville, Isaac Clarence Kulp; Quaker worship, October 6, Middletown Friends Meeting, Lima, Frances Taber; Old Order River Brethren worship, Sonlight River Brethren School, Salunga, Myron Dietz; Mennonite worship, Salford Mennonite Meeting, Harleysville, John L. Ruth. For more information contact: Sandra Cronk, 31 Evergreen Circle, Princeton, NJ 08540.

An archives of Molochna, the largest and most prosperous Russian Mennonite settlement, has been found by **Professor Harvey Dyck** of Toronto and **George Epp** of Menno Simons College in Winnipeg. Dyck calls the 3,000 files and up to 175,000 pages of material an "extraordinary product of scholarly glasnost." He has arranged a

barter agreement with the Odessa Archives to microfilm the entire collection in exchange for microfilming equipment and a photo-duplicating machine.

Joe Springer of the Mennonite Historical Library of Goshen College spent the month of May in research in Montbeliard, France. He is completing the editing of the church record book (1750-1950) of the Mennonite congregation there.

Charlie Kraybill is preparing The Anabaptist New York City Tourguide, a directory of interest to "all self-respecting contemporary Anabaptists, dissenters and fellow travelers." Kraybill is hoping the directory's propaganda value will also attract some Hutterites and Amish to the city for a model urban community. To get a copy write to: Charlie Kraybill, 139 Corson Avenue, Staten Island, NY 10301.

The **Nebraska Mennonite Historical Society** organized itself in November of 1989, and in March, 1991, issued its first eight-page **Nebraska Mennonite Historical Newsletter**. President is Eldon Hostetler and secretary-treasurer is Peg Burkey, Route 1, Dorchester, NE 68343.

Two volumes of **Der Bote Index (1924-1963)** have now been completed and are available from Canadian Mennonite Bible College Publications, 600 Shaftsbury Blvd., Winnipeg, MB, R3P 0M4. Der Bote is a German publication which to this day links Mennonites in Canada and abroad, especially those of the Russian Mennonite heritage.

The **Ohio Amish Library** has begun an annual publication **Heritage Review**, December, 1990. The first issue featured **Ausbund** translations, the story of the Christian Schlachach (1751-1840) family and an article on the 1930s outlaw and bank robber John Dillinger. Paul A. Kline writes the tragic story of Dillinger's family, the father having been raised in an Amish foster home until age 18. Memberships to the Ohio Amish Library (4292 SR 39, Millersburg, OH 44654) are \$20 annually.

Masontown (Pa.) Mennonite Church is planning a bicentennial celebration for September 1, 1991. Mennonites settled in this western Pennsylvania region around 1790, and the first (Old) Mennonite Sunday school in the United States was apparently begun by Masontown Bishop Nicholas Johnson in 1842. For information contact Allegheny Conference historian: John E. Sharp, Mennonite Church of Scottdale, 801 Market St., Scottdale, PA 15683.

CPS events at General Assembly of the Mennonite Church in Eugene, Oregon, include photo exhibits at the Historical Committee display booth; a reception for CPS people August 1, 9 p.m. in the Livestock Building; and a seminar by Roy Umble and John Oyer, August 2, 9 a.m.

Jan Gleysteen and **Louise** and **Harold Cullar** spent three weeks in April and May in Poland photographing the former Mennonite villages in the Vistula Delta and two settlements near Warsaw.

Unfortunately, after completing the assignment, their car was ransacked in Warsaw, resulting in the loss of 78 exposed films and other materials Gleysteen had collected during the past 20 years. A few of the surviving prints appear on page 11 of this issue. Gleysteen had planned to use the photography for his "Our Mennonite Legacy" slide presentations.

Al Keim and his assistant **Jean Paul Benowitz** of Eastern Mennonite College are spending June 15 to August 15 in the Archives of the Mennonite Church to begin work on the "Life and Times of Harold S. Bender Project." A first stage of the project will be to assemble a time-line of Bender's life. Keim is chief researcher and writer of the project, sponsored by the Mennonite Historical Society in Goshen, Indiana.

Who Was Jacob Good?

The title above was a query by Wilmer Reinford from Creamery, Pennsylvania, in the October 1985 **Mennonite Historical Bulletin**. Reinford asked several questions at the end of excerpts he submitted from the diary of Abram B. Mensch (1863-1934), schoolteacher from Upper Skippack, "Jacob Good and his Bicycle." In response to Reinford's questions and queries in **Mennonite Family History**, letters eventually surfaced to provide the identity of Jacob Good.

Jacob B. Good (1875-1956) was the son of Isaac L. and Fannie Berkey Good from River Styx, Medina County, Ohio. Jacob was a farmer who practiced rug weaving for "winter work," according to a letter from Ford Good, an auctioneer and son of Jacob. Ford remembered that the "main purpose" of his father's trip to Pennsylvania in 1899 was to "get more experience in the art of rug weaving." Jacob often mentioned Abram Mensch, Ford recalled, and his trips east to Atlantic City and Niagara Falls were the "highlights of his youth." In 1903 Jacob married Sarah Stauffer. They had six children, farmed in Medina County, Ohio, and made maple syrup. Sarah died in 1947, Jacob in 1956. Philip C. Bergey, Goshen, IN

Archives of the Mennonite Church

By Dennis Stoesz

What follows is a sampling of acquisitions which provide a window into the Archives of the Mennonite Church in Goshen, Indiana. They were received between June 1989 and June 1990.

Brenneman, Henry B. (1831-1887). Franklin Almanac and Diary, 1865, which includes an entry for April 15th: "News came that Lincoln was killed." .25 inches. Donor: Joann Smith, Goshen, Indiana. Brenneman is the great-great-grandfather of the donor.

Indonesia Muria Christian Church [Persatuan Gereja-Gereja Kristen Muria Indonesia, GKMI] (1920-), Jateng, Indonesia. Two photographs, 1958, of the signing of the Confession of Faith by representatives and conference staff at the Mennonite Church in Jepara, Java, Indonesia. One photograph is of the signed document itself. .25 inches; 2 black and white photographs. Donor: Herman and Jo Tann, Goshen, Indiana. The father and grandmother of Herman Tann, as well as the donors are on the picture.

Mennonite Board of Education, Goshen College, Administration (1894-), Goshen, Indiana. Records, 1959-1988, include appointment books of President Victor Stoltzfus, John A. Lapp, Willard Martin and Alice Roth. Materials also include reports on college expansion, philosophy of education and the operation and business management of the college. 30 inches. Donor: Marty Kelley, Administration Office, Goshen College.

Mennonite Board of Missions, Home Missions (1882-), Elkhart, Indiana. Records, 1970-1979, include correspondence, minutes, reports, books, tapes and photographs on Home Mission programs like urban, black and Hispanic ministries of the Mennonite Board of Missions. 15 inches. Donor: Melba Martin, Assistant Director, Evangelism and Church Development, Mennonite Board of Missions.

Mennonite Central Committee (1920-), Akron, Pennsylvania. Records, 1979, includes correspondence and reports on the international and domestic programs

and operations of this relief and service agency sponsored by 17 North American Mennonite and Brethren in Christ churches and conferences. 9 feet, 3 inches. Donor: Irene Leaman, Records/Library and Archives Manager, Mennonite Central Committee.

Mennonite Graduate Fellowship. Records, 1964-66, includes papers from the Mennonite Graduate Fellowship (MGF) meetings at Harvard University, Boston, Massachusetts, in 1963, and correspondence on the program planning for the meetings to be held at the University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, in 1965. Files of Muriel Thiessen and Tom Shenk. This MGF was an independent inter-Mennonite organization of graduate students, although it had some support from the Student Services Committee of the Mennonite Board of Missions. .5 inches. Donor: Mary Janzen, Chicago, Illinois. Janzen served as program chair for the 1967 meeting.

Mosemann, Ruth (1907-) and **John** (1907-1989), Goshen, Indiana. Papers, dating from 1960s-1980s, include correspondence, notes and clippings on Mosemann and Histand family history books and reunions. Ruth Histand Mosemann compiled the **Family Directory of Samuel S. and Susan L. Histand** in 1969, and together with her husband compiled the **Mosemann Family Directory** in 1987. 15 inches. Donor: Ruth Mosemann.

Symensma, Ruurd (Reuben) Jacob. Papers, 1990, are a translation from Dutch to English of a 1853 letter as written by R. J. Symensma on the migrant boat trip to the United States from Liverpool. Symensma was one of the leaders of the Salem Dutch Mennonites who settled in and around

New Paris, Indiana. The church is known as the Salem Mennonite Church. .25 inches. Donor: Miriam J. Glanders, Phoenix, Arizona.

Troyer, Ora (1904-), Fairview, Michigan. Papers, research notes, photographs, clippings, maps, periodicals and books, 1901-1980s, includes material on Amish and Amish-Mennonite settlements in the Fairview (Oscoda County) Michigan area. Also includes records of the Troyer, Hershberger and Bontrager families, as well as from Emanuel S. Troyer, the donor's father. 5 feet. Donor: Ora Troyer.

Weaver, Ivan K. (1915-), Goshen, Indiana. Correspondence, dating from 1950-1960, on the beginnings and growth of the Petoskey Mennonite Church, Petoskey, located in the lower peninsula of Michigan. 15 inches. Donor: Ivan K. Weaver, Goshen, Indiana. Weaver was pastor of this church for nine years.

Yoder, David A. (1883-1980). Papers, 1902 and from the 1950s to 1980, which include correspondence, notebooks and memorabilia about his trip to Mennonite World Conference, Basel, Switzerland, 1955, 50th wedding anniversary, and "Book of Memories" from Yoder's funeral. 7.5 inches. Donor: Lois Weaver, Goshen, Indiana. Weaver is a daughter of Yoder.

Yoder, Menno S. (1863-1952), Shipshewana, Indiana. Papers, ranging from 1877 to 1952, which includes mostly diaries, as well as some maps, correspondence and photographs pertaining to farm life and industry in northern Indiana. 4.5 inches. Donor: Gerald L. Yoder, Elkhart, Indiana. Menno S. Yoder was the grandfather of the donor. *U*

An Invitation Mennonite Church Historical Association

August 1, 1991

Five o'clock Dinner Meeting

Lane County Convention Center, Eugene, Oregon 91

"Activist and Archivist, a Historian's Personal Journey"

Samuel J. Steiner, Librarian and archivist of Conrad Grebel College

Author and editor of *Mennogespräch*

Past editor of *Menno Pause*

Secretary of Mennonite Conference of Eastern Canada

For reservations: Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church,
1700 South Main Street, Goshen, IN 46526 or call 219 535 7477 before July 10, 1991.



The Anabaptists

*An English language premiere production of the tragi-comedy, **The Anabaptists**, by Friedrich Dürrenmatt was given six performances at Goshen College in March. Translated and directed by Lauren Friesen, the play is based on the 1534-35 Anabaptist tragedy at Münster in northwestern Germany. Players included, from left to right: Mrs. Klopriss (Sofia Samatar), Rothmann (Paul Housholder), Mrs. Vinne (Jennifer van Winkle), Krechting (David Wingard), Mrs. Staprade (Michelle Milne), Jan Matthison (Todd Brenneman), Jan Bockelson (Roger Martin). Photo: John D. Yoder*

Mennonite Historical Bulletin
 Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church
 1700 South Main Street
 Goshen, IN 46526-4796
 Telephone 219 535 7477
 Forward and Address Correction

Non-profit
 Organization
 U.S. Postage
 PAID
 Scottsdale, Pa
 Permit No. 3

MIENNONITE

Historical Bulletin

Vol. LII

October 1991

ISSN 0025-9357

No. 4

Mennonite Fundamentalism Revisited After Marsden

By Nate Yoder

Studies of American fundamentalism in the past two decades suggest the need to rethink Mennonites' interaction with the movement. George Marsden and other scholars have found in fundamentalism nuances which supercede depictions of a predominantly rural movement marked by political power grabbing and intellectual cowardice.

Such evidence, combined with the conservative resurgence of the 1980s, demonstrated far more than a stagnant backwater which would be flushed out by the floods of cultural progress. The emerging picture of a complex movement calls for a more subtle treatment of Mennonite fundamentalism than found in scholarship highlighting an antagonism between fundamentalism and Anabaptism.

Mennonites invite further study as a fringe group to fundamentalism who borrowed from the movement to preserve their identity. Marsden's *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (1980), indexes only two references to Mennonites.

In a note to one of the interpretative essays at the end of his book, Marsden writes that fundamentalism "was never a dominant force" among most Mennonite groups. However, when projecting his themes beyond 1925 in an epilogue, he suggests that "militant anti-modernists' ambivalence toward aspects of American culture" resonated with the concerns of immigrant religious groups, including Mennonites.



Amos Daniel (A.D.) Wenger and Anna May Lehman on their wedding day, September 27, 1900. Wenger, a leading revivalist in the 1890s, was president of Eastern Mennonite School from 1922 to 1935. Photo: Eastern Mennonite College



John (1867-1941) and Christine (1870-1966) Funck Horsch. The life and writings of John Horsch suggest a "complex and at times symbiotic relationship" with American fundamentalism. Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church

While implying that Mennonites interacted with fundamentalism after 1925, Marsden does not elaborate their story. Nor does he identify John Horsch as a Mennonite when citing two of his works. Meanwhile, Mennonite scholars have borrowed some of Marsden's insights, but have produced no definitive work applying the revised reading of fundamentalism to their denomination.

A Case Study: John Horsch

Although Mennonites were hardly leading lights in the fundamentalist movement, John Horsch's biography suggests a complex and at times symbiotic relationship. The son of a German Mennonite pastor, Horsch came to the United States as a teenager in the 1880s to avoid military service. Despite a somewhat marginal relationship to North American

Mennonites, for almost fifty years he was affiliated with three different Mennonite-related publishing firms. During the 1920s he wrote various books and pamphlets lambasting modernism inside and outside the Mennonite Church.

Horsch published his best known work, *Modern Religious Liberalism: The Destructiveness and Irrationality of Modernist Theology*, in 1921 through the Fundamental Truth Depot, apparently his private printing firm. New editions, with an introduction by Moody Bible Institute's President James M. Gray, appeared three years later from both the institute's press and Mennonite Publishing House. According to Gray, the book was being used as a text in a pastors course at Moody.

This use of Horsch's book symbolizes an ongoing interplay between Mennonites and American fundamentalists. In 1938 the institute's press published a third edition. Mennonite conservatives would issue a further printing in 1968. This edition, however, was not underwritten by the denominational publishing house, but by the Sword and Trumpet, and included an introduction by George R. Brunk II.

The original edition of *Modern Religious Liberalism* would appear at least once more—in the recent Garland reprint series on American fundamentalism. Series editor, Joel Carpenter, writes: "Of the many polemical books and pamphlets produced by fundamentalists during their crusade against modernism, this one . . . is perhaps the most valuable. It contains . . . a complete and well-documented series of charges, which reveal the ways in which fundamentalists perceived their liberal

The Mennonite Historical Bulletin is published quarterly by the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church and distributed to the members of the Mennonite Church Historical Association.

Editor: Levi Miller; Review editor: Steven D. Reschly; Design: Randall Horst; Contributing editors: Janeen Bertsche Johnson, Robert Charles, Sandra Cronk, Jan Gleysteen, Reg Good, Leonard Gross, Amos B. Hoover, Russell Krabill, Glenn M. Lehman, Joseph Liechty, Steven Nolt, John D. Roth, Ervin Schlabach, John E. Sharp, Dennis Stoesz, Gerald Studer, Wilmer Swope, Marilyn Voran, Rachel Waltner Goossen. Historical Committee: Albert Keim, James O. Lehman, Hope Kauffman Lind, Steven D. Reschly, Beulah Stauffer Hostetler, Samuel Steiner, Carolyn C. Wenger; Subscription and membership: Boyd Nelson.

Dues for subscription-membership in the Mennonite Church Historical Association (\$20 annual), inquiries, articles, or news items should be sent to the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church, 1700 South Main, Goshen, IN 46526. Telephone (219) 535-7477, FAX (219) 535-7660.

Microfilms of Volumes I-L of the Mennonite Historical Bulletin are available from: University Microfilms, Inc., 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

opponents to have departed from the faith once delivered to the saints.”

Horsch also symbolizes Mennonites' selectivity in interacting with fundamentalists. Although employing a militant tone in his opposition to modernism, Horsch vigorously promoted nonresistance, even in the face of World War I. After the mid-1920s he shifted from attacking modernism to promoting Anabaptism and the peace position. Throughout his career he remained what Mennonites called an amillennialist, allegorizing Bible passages which prophesied the political reign of Christ on the earth.

The Conservative Tradition

Mennonites' interaction with fundamentalists must be understood against the backdrop of a conservative ethnic tradition. The South German and Swiss immigrants from whom most members of the North American Mennonite Church descended began arriving in eastern Pennsylvania in the early eighteenth century. In addition to their German ethnicity, which they shared with many non-Mennonite neighbors, their memory of persecution and non-resistance sharpened their sense of being a distinct people. Although losing some children and members to revivalist religion or revolutionary patriotism, the church itself proved resistant to most influences from mainline American Protestantism until late in the nineteenth century.

The 1890s were pivotal in Mennonite acculturation. Church leaders increased support for Sunday schools which had been established in many communities. English was rapidly displacing German. Concern for spiritual and material needs of others stimulated mission work while itinerant revivalists brought the call for conversion to Mennonite congregations. Elkhart (Indiana) Institute, later Goshen College, opened in 1894. After 1898 regional conferences cooperated in a General Conference. By 1910 earlier private ventures by Mennonite activists were consolidated under church-wide boards for education, publication, and missions.

Not all Mennonites were enthusiastic about these changes. Old Order groups emerged from schisms

in Indiana, Ontario, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. Separated from the larger Mennonite body, they and their Amish counterparts had minimal impact on emerging Mennonite institutions.

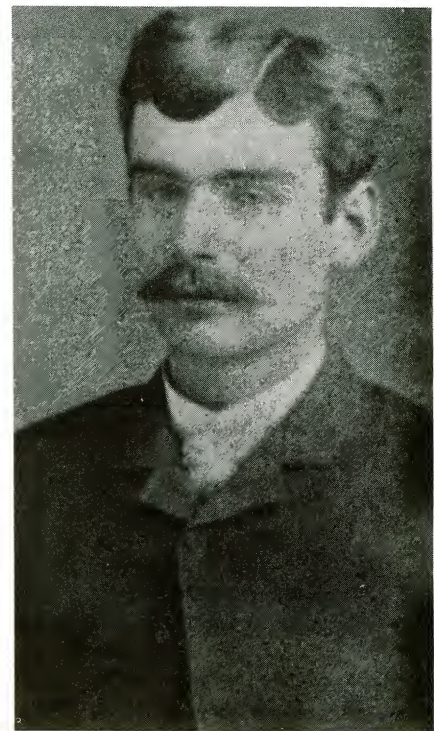
More significant for later developments were certain conservative leaders who remained within the church. Although promoting methods which altered traditional experience, they opposed other innovations which would become most visible at Goshen College.

Conservative resistance was evident already in the 1890s. Several church leaders in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, opposed the new Chicago Home Mission and succeeded in closing the work briefly in 1895. Ironically, the men who appeared reactionary to the mission seemed quite progressive within their home communities. Whole conferences, as well as individuals, could refrain from programs instigated by more progressive Mennonites. For example, the three oldest American Mennonite conferences refrained from joining the General Conference when it organized in 1898.

Conservatives based in Virginia were even more vocal about their concerns in the following decades. They insisted that Goshen College adhere more rigorously to cultural separatism and theological orthodoxy. Failing to bring the college into line, they opened Eastern Mennonite School at Harrisonburg, Virginia, in 1917. Continued tensions, including charges of modernism, undermined financial support for Goshen, and the school closed for the 1923-24 academic year.

Even after Goshen reopened under new administration, debate continued over church authority, Scripture, prophecy, nonresistance, and nonconformity. In 1929, the Virginia Conference sanctioned the newly published *Sword and Trumpet*, a more conservative counterpoint to denominational periodicals.

Although Harold S. Bender and his colleagues at the new Goshen attempted to circumvent the fundamentalist-modernist debate, many Virginians were comfortable with fundamentalist labels and vocabulary. Frequently they cited their faithfulness to fundamentals such as nonconformity and nonresistance which few non-Mennonites emphasized. In 1919 their conference



Daniel Kauffman (1865-1944), editor and organizer, was the first moderator of the Mennonite General Conference in 1898 at age 33. For all his prominence in church leadership, few photos remain; this photo was taken before Kauffman's conversion in 1890. Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church.

adopted a statement of fundamental beliefs. With only minor revisions, the General Conference approved the document two years later as the report of the Committee on Fundamentals.

A Climatic Shift

For nearly a generation, conservatives in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, in league with other like-minded leaders, exerted great influence in their denomination's committees and publications. Open disagreement with their warnings that modernism was the great threat to Christian belief and piety were rare. Besides exorcising appearances of theological modernism, they held the line on cultural accommodation by making dress a mark of faithfulness in both congregations and institutions.

By 1950 many leaders who wielded such influence had died and their heirs were losing their grip on the church's publishing institutions. Suggestions began to appear in Mennonite



Clayton Freed (C.F.) Derstine (1891-1967), Mennonite revivalist. "It was by borrowing the fundamentalist language of marginalization that the Mennonite conservatives reinforced their distinctives." Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church

publications that fundamentalism, not modernism, was the greater threat to Mennonite faithfulness.

Study of the so-called Mennonite fundamentalists takes place within a struggle to identify the soul of the church, evident in the preoccupation with terms such as "identity" and "pluralism." Sometime after 1950 the mood of Mennonite academics shifted. Accommodation to conservative concerns turned to derision for anything "fundamentalist."

More scholarly in tone is the recent revisionist reading of the American Mennonite experience. Where earlier scholars labeled the 1890s a "Great Awakening" for Mennonites, implying a previous lethargy, revisionists find a vital piety permeating nineteenth-century Amish and Mennonite life. The discovery of this vitality rather than stagnation raises questions about how desirable the "Awakening" really was. Even more pronounced has been the contention that later borrowing from fundamentalism was a corruption of both radical Anabaptism and traditional Mennonitism.

The danger of an overdose of the fundamentalism-as-infiltration thesis is its inability to deal with the complexity of the historical context. While denigrating the impact of

revivalism and fundamentalism, it trivializes threats from secularized scholarship and liberalism. Such reductionist treatment of conservative leaders fails to acknowledge their contribution to the church.

Furthermore, an overemphasis on corruption portrays Mennonites in general as duped victims rather than as actors in their own context.

Key questions about the Mennonite Church and her fundamentalist-leaning members beg for further exploration. Why did Mennonites order correspondence courses from Moody Bible Institute or buy Scofield Reference Bibles? What parts of fundamentalist teaching resonated with Mennonite understandings of the Christian faith? How did fundamentalist emphases act as correctives to weaknesses in Mennonite teaching and experience? In what ways did Mennonites alter fundamentalist teaching? What happened to Mennonites who left for more fundamentalist groups? An appreciation for impulses behind the patterns of organization and acculturation evident at the time offers one approach to such questions.

Institutions and Boundaries

The brief historical sketch above suggests why Marsden found little evidence of fundamentalism among Mennonites before 1925. Their developing institutional machinery could not match the fireworks among Presbyterians and Baptists where fundamentalists attempted to purge modernists. Most Mennonite organizational strength was divided between area conferences and individual congregations. Even the continuation of the General Conference could not be taken for granted. Institutional advocates continued to defend new organizations to reluctant area conferences in Pennsylvania.

Mennonites' interaction with fundamentalists played a paradoxical role in the growth of denominational institutions. Leaders who emerged by 1910, such as Daniel Kauffman, not only built institutions, but also codified orthodox belief and strengthened ministerial authority. Thus, the building of Mennonite institutions after 1890 and the articulation of doctrine and authority which was inherent in fundamentalism by 1920 appear related.

Both activities served to define identity and promote activism for a denomination undergoing change. On the other hand, although fundamentalists built institutional empires, they also possessed a rhetoric for attacking institutions which appeared apostate. Such tactics appealed to Mennonite conservatives who believed certain institutions resisted accountability to the church.

An understanding of the Mennonite version of the fundamentalist controversy must also include further exploration of other tensions related to the organizational impulse. Most early publications and preaching tours which promoted Mennonite solidarity were only semi-official ventures. So were the first institutions for missions and education.

Key leaders in consolidating institutions and bringing them officially under church authority would later be identified as Mennonite fundamentalists. This tension between the impulse for building institutions to promote the church's program and the later concern for holding such

institutions accountable to particular understandings of faithfulness underlay the rancor after 1910.

Clashes over authority in the church's emerging institutions included other dynamics. Intergenerational tensions were evident already in the 1890s. Similarly, the development of a professional ministry led to differences between self-educated preachers who had been called to leadership by their congregations and college graduates who might appeal to the authority of their education. Fundamentalist vocabulary and tactics would appeal to certain Mennonites facing any of these tensions.

The impulse to define boundaries in a community undergoing change also offers an understanding of fundamentalism's appeal. According to Marsden, fundamentalists were the marginalized heirs to nineteenth-century evangelicalism and its cultural hegemony. This marginalization occurred largely at the hands of modern scholarship, especially of theological liberalism. For Mennonites who had never fully been part of that Protestant mainstream, such marginal status had long been a sign of spiritual faithfulness. Their nonresistance, humility ethic, and two-kingdom teaching provided a theological basis for being outsiders.

Mennonites, then, offer a variation on Marsden's theme. For them, interaction with fundamentalists was more a part of their acculturation than an evidence of marginalization. On the other hand, such borrowing was also the means for resisting acculturation. This paradox was also evident in the 1890s with the adoption of American revivalism.

Mennonite revivalists usually included appeals borrowed from holiness, albeit with firm opposition to instantaneous sanctification. Such borrowing—implying acculturation—heightened requirements for distinctive dress—preserving separatism. In a similar paradox, it was by borrowing the fundamentalist language of marginalization that Mennonite conservatives reinforced their distinctives. In fundamentalist fashion, they emphasized verbal and plenary inspiration of Scripture, and in Mennonite fashion they considered lifestyle—non-conformity in dress—the crucial criterion of faithfulness.

Another aspect of Americanization suggests a Mennonite version of the frontier. For several decades before 1890 church leaders had lamented departures from the church. The lures of business opportunity, revivalism, and higher education were drawing away some of the best talent. While young people in established communities might leave, the very existence of many western congregations was threatened. The formative influences on Mennonite activists of the 1890s who became fundamentalist Mennonite leaders in the 1920s and had served in places such as urban Chicago or rural Missouri and Kansas deserve explication.

Such attention to the historical context in which Mennonites interacted with their American neighbors shows them as historical actors addressing deeply felt needs within their lives and communities. The revivalist tradition and the missions movement offered methods for incorporating young people into the church, strengthening struggling congregations and correcting a perceived failure in spreading the Gospel. Although innovative understandings of conversion and missions stretched traditional models of humility and accountability, issues

related to higher education strained them beyond the breaking point.

Perceiving a crisis in financial and theological accountability at Goshen College, it was natural for conservatives to borrow the vocabulary and tactics used by fundamentalists. Yet overall borrowing was selective. George Brunk, who prided himself on exposing modernism at Goshen, just as vehemently denounced Calvinism for its predestination and eternal security. If modernism gave too much credence to human effort, he argued, Calvinism allowed humans to be ethically irresponsible.

For a generation Mennonite scholars have described fundamentalism's corruption of American Mennonitism. A reinterpretation focusing on Mennonites' interaction with fundamentalists suggests nuances missing from the infiltration thesis. *W*

Nate Yoder of Goshen, Indiana, is a doctoral candidate in American history at the University of Notre Dame.

Mirror of the Martyrs Exhibit

Virginia

Eastern Mennonite College,
Harrisonburg,
Sept. 29 - Nov. 9

Pennsylvania

The MeetingHouse,
Harleysville,
Nov. 18 - Jan. 1
Christian Aid Ministries,
Hinkletown,
approximately
January 3 - 24
Elizabethtown College,
February 3 - April 3

Ohio

Canton Art Museum,
April 10 - July 5



Confessions of a Lapsed Radical

By Sam Steiner

I have been asked a number of times in the last year to talk about my experience in the 1960s as a draft resister and erstwhile Mennonite radical. In preparing and delivering these talks it's sometimes felt like that era in my life is totally disconnected from my present reality.

Here I am, a middle-class Muppie, a Mennonite urban professional—a librarian and archivist at a Mennonite college. Sue and I attend a well-known Mennonite church where Sue is co-pastor—in St. Jacobs, Ontario. And St. Jacobs has been described by the Air Canada airline magazine as “the spiritual centre of the Mennonite world.” We own one house, two cars, two TVs, two computers, three desks, two filing cabinets, a microwave oven, a gas barbecue, one black cat (named after St. Augustine) and 3000 books.

I've written one biography of a nineteenth-century Mennonite leader and currently am researching the history of a Mennonite high school. For the past 10 years I've been deeply involved in the organizational life of the Mennonite Church in Canada.

In 1968 while living in Chicago I didn't own much of anything. I survived for a brief time on 18 cents a day, some of that raised by selling blood. I slept in the apartments of friends, and dressed in black, day after day. I belonged to organizations with acronyms like CADRE (Chicago Area Draft Resisters) and SDS (Students for a Democratic Society).

Jesus Christ as interpreted by the Mennonite Church was not relevant. He was passive. He had little interest in justice. I believed there was only one way true justice could come in North America. That was through democracy from the bottom. We called it “participatory democracy.” Achieving this true democracy would involve dismantling the present political structures.

What is the connection between the 1968 Sam Steiner and the 1991 Sam Steiner? As a historian I am compelled to try to find such a connection. As someone who now loves the Mennonite Church, I wonder why my story has evolved so differently from



Albert J. (A.J.) Steiner (1876-1965) with Sons John (1912-1990), David (1905-1985) and James (1909-): "A heavy burden..." Photo: Sylvia Miller

others in my generation. So many of us are missing from the church, why not me? And how has my experience from the 1960s shaped the way I work within the churchly structures today? I don't have answers. I only have some personal stories and observations.

All of my life I've been in the shadow of an imposing family heritage. My father, David, was a Mennonite bishop in North Lima, Ohio. Uncle John, also a bishop, was long connected with Bethany Christian High School in Indiana. Uncle James was also a minister. Grandfather A.J. Steiner was a bishop in the Ohio Mennonite Conference for forty years, and a conference politician. He was moderator of the Ohio conference for fourteen years, including the years when the Ohio Mennonite Conference merged with the Eastern Amish Mennonite Conference in 1927. Great uncle M.S. Steiner was a well-known evangelist, and first president of the Mennonite Board of Missions and

Charities. Great-grandfather Christian Steiner was a minister near Bluffton, Ohio.

Great-great-grandfather Peter Steiner was a minister in Wayne County, Ohio, and a draft dodger from the Alsace in France. The unconfirmed story goes that Peter was drafted into Napoleon's army in 1812 for the campaign in Russia. One night he and several other soldiers either hid in a cave, or friends blocked the entrance with stones. The next day the rest of the army moved on. Peter made no effort to catch up.

This heritage was a heavy burden to bear. As a teenager when I left home for an evening with friends, I was often told to “remember you're a Steiner.” I did not bear this well, and when I got out from under my parents' roof, I tried to lay this burden down by becoming an avowed agnostic.

The Sixties

It is clear that my experiences during the troubled decade of the 60s helped to shape the call I've felt to work within the structures of the Mennonite Church, and the issues that for me have been particularly important. In 1964 as an 18-year-old at Goshen College I registered for the draft. I did not apply for status as a conscientious objector at that time. It was at this time that I told my parents about my religious views, and went through a period of self-alienation from my family.

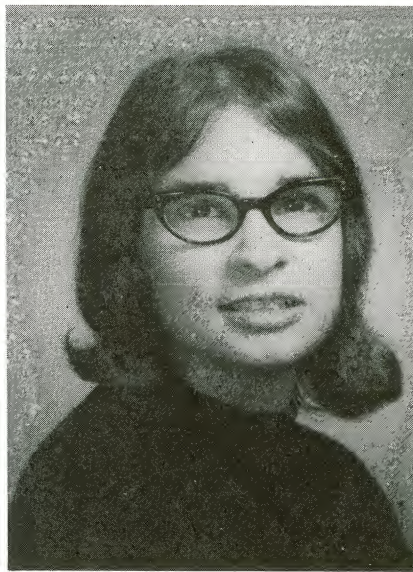
Six months after that eighteenth birthday I underwent a political conversion. With a carload of other Goshen students I planned to be a passive observer of the Selma to Montgomery civil rights march in Alabama, led by Martin Luther King. This was March, 1965.

Beginning on that ride down into Alabama I became emotionally involved in the visible injustice I saw around me. For the first time I experienced internally the other side of the American way of life. That's ironic in a sense, because my brother, Albert, had been in voluntary service in southside Chicago, and I had visited him several times. But that was only a white racist going to the zoo. The poverty of southside Chicago was a curiosity—something to see but not really to absorb in my consciousness. It had been easy to blame the victims for their condition.

But in that March-1965 drive through Alabama our carload of cleancut college students saw hostility in white eyes. Our car had Indiana license plates and was full of young men, one of whom was not white.

In Montgomery demonstrators were billeted at a Catholic school surrounded by a high chain link fence. Every 10 feet around the perimeter of that fence the United States Army protected us from other Americans as we slept. I don't remember much about the march to the state capitol the next day, but I was a different person after hearing the hopes and dreams of black men and women, contrasted with the hate and poverty around me. Experiencing hatred solely because of one's circumstances is sobering. Although I was white, for a brief time I had walked in the shoes of persons in the North American third world.

When I returned to Goshen from



*Sue Clemmer, 1969, at Goshen College:
"a companion who was also seeking."*

that march I recognized I could not kill another human being on the basis of political (or economic) differences. I also saw a need to combine social justice with my newfound (or rediscovered) nonresistance. Belatedly I registered as a conscientious objector, but on philosophical, non-religious grounds. I argued that human life itself was inherently sacred, and that I did not have the right, ever, to permanently terminate another human life. I was not wise enough to make that kind of decision. And neither was Lyndon Johnson.

The Radical Phase

I entered the radical phase in my life. I joined Students for a Democratic Society and participated in mass peace demonstrations—in Chicago, Washington, D.C. and New York City. On three occasions I was suspended from Goshen College—the last time indefinitely. I, with three other students, had published an underground newspaper called **Mennopause**. Ironically, the editor of the official student paper that year was Sue Clemmer, whom I later married.

From the fall of 1967 until the fall of 1968 I lived on the north side of Chicago. Gradually I became more involved in the draft resistance movement. I worked for some months as a supply clerk at a hospital in Evanston, Illinois. Many of my co-

workers were Mennonite young men putting in their two years of alternative service. My cynicism about passive Mennonite nonresistance increased.

Two Mennonite fellows I got to know particularly well were from Missouri. Their minister had helped them with the answers on their application for conscientious objector status. There was nothing wrong with this, but these guys were genuinely illiterate about their nonresistant beliefs. One of them expressed great support for the war in Vietnam and believed strongly that the United States government should bomb North Vietnam to oblivion in an effort to win the war. Nonresistance was not to alleviate suffering, but simply was to keep his own hands clean from killing.

As I became more involved in the draft resistance movement, I destroyed my draft card, and mailed it back to my draft board. Because of this I was fired from my job at the hospital. For the remaining half year or so that I lived in Chicago I was subsidized by the generosity of friends. I lived with a wide variety of the interesting people that reflected the counter-culture of the time. These included hippies, drug dealers, and friends who were homosexuals.

In the spring of 1968, I refused induction into the military service back in Youngstown, Ohio. For six months I waited in Chicago to be arrested. These were uneasy times in the United States with many riots in major cities, including Chicago, after the assassination of Martin Luther King.

I became more and more paranoid, waiting for the axe to fall, while continuing to live off of friends. Accompanying the paranoia was a certain disillusionment with the radical politics I had adopted when I saw the manipulation of us by our radical leadership at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in the summer of 1968.

That fall friends, in particular Sue Clemmer, persuaded me that Canada was an honorable alternative to prison. During these months of decision Sue had become a very important link to hope; something that otherwise was in short supply. The last week in October 1968 I travelled as a visitor to the Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario, area and arranged housing and a job.

Ironically this was all done with the assistance of Mennonites. If I recall the



Helen Saloris, Students for a Democratic Society; Robert Malson, underground Washington Free Press; and Frank Speltz, student leader of the occupation of the Administration Building of Howard University; addressing the 1969 Intercollegiate Mennonite Peace Fellowship. Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church, MCC Collection

overnight with relatives of the Goshen College professor who drove me to Canada. I was next in contact with a former college roommate. Next we visited with the chaplain at Conrad Grebel College. He put me in touch with Jim Reusser, the pastor at Stirling Avenue Mennonite Church. That pastor did two things for me. He arranged room and board with an aunt and he called one of his members who arranged for a job immediately as a grocery clerk at one of his stores. I later learned that I missed arrest by one week.

Sue and I continued a long-distance courtship for eight months after which she came to Canada and we married in August, 1969. In 1973 the United States government dropped its charges against me, after I got the American Civil Liberties Union to look into my case.

In the early 1970s my consciousness turned to historical study. While I was completing my undergraduate studies Walter Klaassen and Frank Epp, both history professors at Conrad Grebel College, allowed me to reclaim some of my Mennonite roots and history.

They also modelled a peace with justice position that was linked to Mennonite heritage. For example, I learned about the Peasants' War of 1525 and the role proto-Anabaptists or near-Anabaptists, even real Anabaptists had in it.

I learned the Mennonite Church had a human face to it, and for me that was reassuring. The Anabaptist "saints" or even my great-great-grandfather Peter, the draft dodger, were taken off of the pedestal upon which too many of our church leaders have placed them. They became more accessible to me. Jesus Christ also becomes a little more accessible to me.

Returning to Jesus Christ

Returning to acknowledging Jesus Christ as Lord was not a rapid process. A gift I received from historical studies was an acceptance of greater ambiguity in my church and in my own life. We work for the kingdom of God, but it is not present in its fullness here and now, either in the church or outside the church. I also learned to accept God's gift of grace. I have seen

God's hand in too many events and relationships in my life. And that hand wasn't present because of my own works.

In 1974 I began to work in the Archives at the Conrad Grebel College. If you want to see failings and ambiguity, mixed with victory and insight, the archives is a very good place to begin. You see the silliness of a division in First Mennonite Church in Kitchener because some women didn't want to wear a particular style of bonnet.

My entry into aspects of conference leadership happened through circumstances outside my control or consciousness. Others will have to judge if the guiding hand was from above or below. As an archivist Frank Epp thought I would have interest in the thoroughness and accuracy of the historical record. He invited me to serve as recording secretary of the college council and for one year on the college's board of governors. In 1981 another member of the college community was serving on the Mennonite Conference of Ontario's personnel committee, and suggested

personnel committee, and suggested me for service as secretary for the conference's executive committee.

Me? I had not sat on a conference committee of any sort, had not attended annual conferences, and had precious few credentials for such a task. But I had begun to study the life of my grandfather, A.J., and I regarded participation in conference structures at such a high bureaucratic level as "awesome."

Since 1981 I have been deeply involved in the structural life of what has become the Mennonite Conference of Eastern Canada. This has included six years as secretary of the Ontario-Quebec conference, two years as secretary of the committee that shaped the conference integration in Eastern Canada, and now two-plus years as secretary of the Eastern Canada Conference.

The Imprint of my Background

How does my particular background shape the way I approach issues in the church today? Certainly the imprint of my background affects me. From those roots in the 1960s I feel a commitment not to leave the Mennonite Church in the same state as I found it. Jesus called into being a church positively changed by the

cultures around it. The Jerusalem Conference of Acts 15 is strong testimony to that. The falling away of the important Jewish practice of circumcision allowed that church to grow.

First, the payment of war taxes. I am not a tax resister in Canada. But I know that Jesus said that we should give Caesar only what was rightfully his. I also know from history that some Anabaptists refused to pay taxes intended for war. From my personal history I know that draft resisters had no support from the institutional church until after I was in Canada. I do not want that to happen with those whose conscience calls them to tax resistance.

The best of our sixteenth-century Anabaptist theologians pled for freedom of conscience. We as a twentieth-century church should do no less. Despite my views, however, I should note that at its last annual meeting the Eastern Canada Conference did not approve a resolution supporting the conscience of conference employees concerned about the payment of military taxes.

Second, the church's attitude toward persons with a homosexual orientation. I have seen discipleship acted out in the lives of Christian friends who are in covenantal relationships. I have been touched by

the homophobic reaction of a Mennonite institution as it expunged those it feared. I am disturbed by a denomination that defined the outcome of a sexuality study before it began. I will try to help it retreat from a brittleness that has almost made homosexuality the mother of all sins.

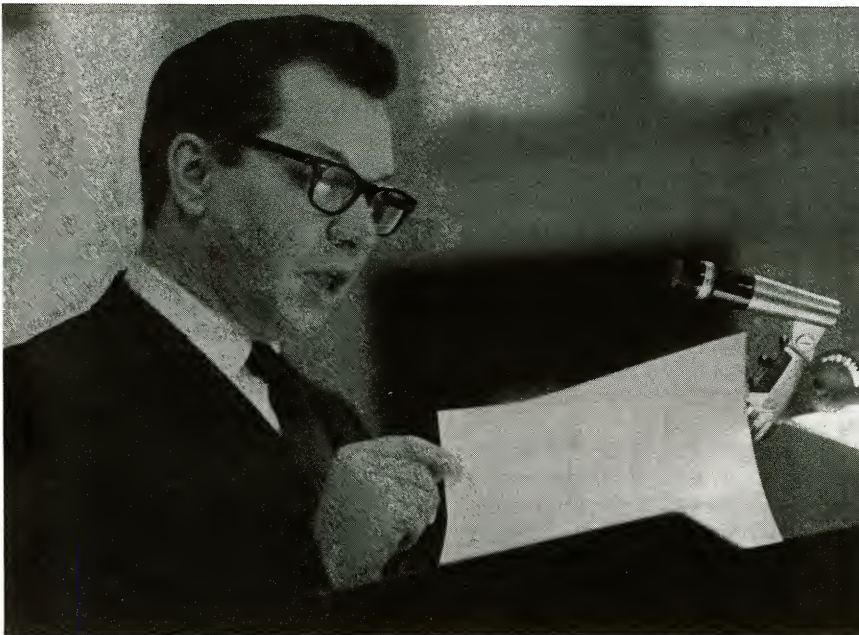
Third, General Conference and Mennonite Church integration. As I read Mennonite history I can find precious few reasons not to integrate. In 1927 the Eastern Amish Mennonites with a "congregational" polity merged with the "conference-oriented" polity of the Ohio Mennonite Conference. Some dress, or "nonconformity," questions existed in that merger as well.

George R. Brunk I called my grandfather in Ohio a "bow-tie liberal." Family tradition reports that at the critical merger meeting in 1927, the Eastern Amish Mennonite leadership decided to tolerate my grandfather's attire, which included a tie. They decided this while grandfather A.J. was out, in the washroom.

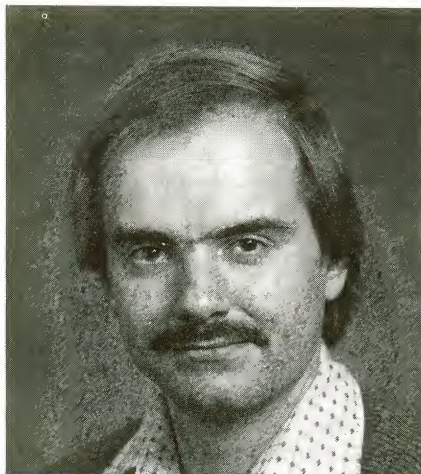
Some of the eastern Amish Mennonite settlements were some distance from the Ohio Conference settlements. Do these types of issues sound familiar? There was some pain and some difficulty in that merger. My mother's home congregation, Oak Grove, at Smithville, Ohio, lived outside the Ohio and Eastern conference for many years. My grandfather, A.J. Steiner, helped to banish them. But in the long-term the merger worked. The pool of resources and opportunity increased in that generation.

I could discuss other issues. But I hope these three examples illustrate how this child of the 60s, who studies history, functions as a church bureaucrat.

Why did I come back to the church, when so many others did not? I believe it was the hand of God expressed through the actions of many Mennonites who touched my life when I was adrift. I saw God at work through the managers at Provident Bookstore where Sue worked for 10 years and in the testimony of faculty at Conrad Grebel College. I saw God in the tolerant smiles at the Stirling Avenue Mennonite Church where we took our parents when they visited during those first years in Canada.



Frank H. Epp at 1969 Mennonite Central Committee Peace Section meeting in Chicago.
Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church, MCC Collection



Sam Steiner: "I have seen God's hand in many events and relationships in my life."
Photo: Troyer Studios

A companion named Sue who was also seeking was obviously a major influence. We discovered a congregation, Rockway Mennonite, pastored by John W. Snyder, that encouraged questions and did not provide quick answers. This was crucial.

Surely the hand of God is also working through the actions of Mennonites today, though not necessarily in the same way that impacted me. In creative and open-spirited ways we reveal again the presence of the kingdom of God in the world of this generation.

I believe some of these elements that drew me back are still alive in the Mennonite Church and its institutions today. *✠*

Sam Steiner of Waterloo, Ontario, is secretary of the Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church. This article is taken from a talk he gave to the Mennonite Church Historical Association meeting August 1, 1991, at Eugene, Oregon.

Book Reviews

The CPS Story: An Illustrated History of Civilian Public Service.
Albert N. Keim. Intercourse, Pa.: Good Books, 1990. Pp. 128. \$11.95.

We are in the early stages of the fiftieth anniversary of the Civilian Public Service experience. The Burke-Wadsworth bill authorizing the World War alternative system passed through Congress in September of 1941. The first Civilian Public Service camps opened in May, 1941. By 1946, when the system was terminated, more than 12,000 men, including over 4,000 Mennonites, had fulfilled their World War II obligation through CPS.

The CPS story is unique in the annals of American war-time conscientious objector service. The pacifist community worked more closely than previously with the militaristic state to fashion an acceptable alternative system. For American Mennonites, the CPS experience altered the shape of their identity. CPS, more than any other single event in the twentieth century, moved Mennonites to a new kind of service and mission activism.

Keim's *The CPS Story* is a good place to get an introduction to how the whole system worked. This slender book tells the story from start to finish. Included are the negotiations between the Historic Peace Churches and the government over the shape of the system; the differing kinds of work done by CPSers; the structure of camp life; and the meaning of the camp experience for many who spent time in WWII alternative service. The many vignettes of personal experience add rich texture and color to the story.

A map of CPS camp sites and a listing of all the CPS camps offer fine reference information. Nearly 100 photographs, sharply and clearly reproduced, tell their own interesting story.

For former CPS people, this book will help them relive the experience. People who should be aware of what conscientious objectors did during an earlier American war need this book. Finally, all who want to participate more fully in the CPS anniversary celebrations between now and 1996, will want to read this book.

Paul Toews, Fresno, California

Anabaptist-Mennonite Identities in Ferment. Occasional Papers, No. 14. Eds., Leo Driedger and Leland Harder. Elkhart, IN: Institute of Mennonite Studies, 1990. Pp. 190. \$8.00.

This collection of papers is the result of a consultation of theologians, sociologists and historians to "find new creative ways of conceptualizing a second North American social survey of Mennonites and Brethren in Christ called Church Member Profile II." One hopes the papers were helpful to the scholars working on Church Member Profile II.

This reader, however, was inundated with sociological jargon that neither clarified Mennonite identity nor was creatively new. The sociological picture of ethnicity, which is the major approach pursued here, is coincidental if not irrelevant to identifying what it means to be Mennonite.

Regrettably, neither theologians nor historians were given much of a voice in describing Mennonite identity. A church grows out of a particular history and its identity cannot be defined without this theological make-up and historical perspective. Unfortunately, the sociologists take up at least three-fourths of the book, leaving this reader, at least, no more enlightened than when he began.

John A. Miller, Calgary, Alberta

Mennonite Historical Atlas.
William Schroeder and Helmut T. Huebert. Winnipeg: Springfield Publishers, 1990. Pp. 134.

Winnipeg Mennonite scholars Schroeder (maps) and Huebert (text) provide a very useful and much needed geographical and historical guide to the movements of Mennonite peoples of Dutch origin. They follow the main trek route from Friesland to the Vistula (Danzig area), to the Ukraine and finally to the Americas.

Following a section of 85 clear and accurate black and white maps are 35 pages of concise historical explanation keyed to the maps. The design of tracing migration and settlement chronologically through macro-large scale maps to selective village layouts is informative and convenient.

Of special interest are the detailed maps of the Ukrainian colonies of Chortitza and Molotschna, the trek into Central Asia led by Claus Epp,

and the settlement patterns in Manitoba and Latin America. One disappointment is that less attention is given to Mennonites of Swiss and Palatinate origin and their settlement in the United States.

Available in both paper and hardback editions, this volume is a welcome addition to home, church and school libraries for providing a geographical understanding of the Mennonite historical experience. It will have enduring educational value.

Norman E. Saul, Lawrence, Kansas



Recent Publications

Entz, Jacob. *Family Register Jacob Entz*. 1987. Pp. 32. Order from Ernestine Pancrantz Manz, 318 River St., Paynesville, MN 56362.

Goering, Orlando and Violet. *The Benj. B.J. and Anna (Goering) Goering Family Record 1891-1989*. 1989. Pp. 79. \$15 from the authors, 1140 Ridgcrest, Vermillion, SD 57069.

Helmuth, Orva S. *Arthur Mennonite Church, 1940-1990*. 1990. Pp. 92. \$6.50. Order from Echo, R. 1, Box 193, Arthur, IL 61911.

Hershey, John W. *The Descendents of Peter and Barbara Buckwalter Hershey*. 1989. Pp. 110.


Kinsey, Marjorie Blocher. *Blough Family History*. 1989. Pp. 264. \$22.00. Order from author, 1612 Southeast Blvd., Evansville, IN 47714.

Mason, Floyd R. and Kathryn G. *Ziegler Family Record—Revised*. 1990. Pp. 672. \$32.90. Order from Marie Mason Flory, 608 Green St., Bridgewater, VA 22812.

Rediger, Wilma Schertz. *Genealogy of Christian Rediger Family*. 1990. Pp. 106.

Robbins, Betty Lou Eby. *David E. Eby - Leah Eby Family History*. 1988. Pp. 79.

Ulrich, Roy and Rebecca. *One Generation Shall Praise Thy Works to Another*. 1990. Pp. 249.

Further information on the above books may be obtained from Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen College, Goshen, IN 46526. Tel. 219 535 7418. 

News and Notes

Marcus Shantz is researching the impact of World War II on Mennonite worldviews in order to develop a curriculum at the secondary school level. He is sponsored by Mennonite Central Committee Ontario and Rockway Mennonite School in Kitchener, where he is a grade 13 student. He has conducted oral interviews with refugees, soldiers, non-combatants and conscientious objectors.

Dan Beachy (407 South Greene Road, Goshen, IN 46526) chairs the newly formed Indiana based Amish Heritage Committee. The committee's work includes cemetery restoration, issuing publications, and planning commemorative programs on the 150th anniversary of the coming of the Amish to Elkhart County.

Peter Rempel has been hired as half-time assistant archivist at the Mennonite Heritage Centre in Winnipeg. Rempel has an M.A. in history from the University of Manitoba and extensive archival experience. He edited the recently published *Der Bote Index (1924-1963)*.

Martin Franke of Wolcottville, Indiana, began as the director-curator of the Hans Herr House Museum in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in June. The 1719 stone building is the oldest structure in Lancaster County and had earlier been used as a home and Mennonite meetinghouse.

Linda Hecht of Waterloo, Ontario, is updating a data base on Canadian Mennonite institutions begun by Marlene Epp for the Mennonite Historical Society of Canada. Epp is taking an indefinite leave of absence as staff person to pursue PhD studies in history at the University of Toronto.

Gerald Studer presided over the meeting of the International Society of Bible Collectors meeting July 12-14, 1991, in Indiana. Studer has been president of the organization since 1988 and has an extensive Bible collection at the Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminaries in Elkhart, Indiana.

In Winnipeg two November historical conferences will deal with questions about war and the Mennonite peace position in the wake of the Gulf War. "Mennonites and modern wars" is the topic of a November 7-8 symposium at the University of Winnipeg.

"Conscientious Objection" is the topic for a November 9-11 symposium at Canadian Mennonite Bible College.


The Illinois Mennonite Historical and Genealogical Society has moved the Christian D. (1842-1913) and Magdalena Shertz *Grossdaddi Haus* (grandparent house) to its premises west of Metamora. Hazel Haasen notes that the society hopes to eventually have a complete farmstead typifying the way the early pioneers lived.

PROFETAS DE REVOLUCION by Samuel López of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is a Spanish language video of the Anabaptists as prophetic Christian revolutionaries. The 41-minute production is available from Centro de Distribución, Goshen College, Goshen, IN 46526.

Glenn Lehman (2160 Lincoln Hwy. East, Box 6, Lancaster, PA 17602) is collecting recordings of the pre-modern Mennonite chant-type prayers as an art and liturgical form. If you have copies or know of older people who could serve as informants please contact him.

The television documentary *The Different Path: Conscientious Objectors in World War II* was named best 1990 documentary by Ontario Cable Television Association. The documentary was directed by Nan Cressman of Mennonite Central Committee Ontario and co-produced by MCC Ontario and Rogers Cable TV, Kitchener.

Bert Friesen is indexing the *Mennonitische Rundschau* at Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies in Canada (1-169 Riverton Ave., Winnipeg, MB, R2L 2E5). Volume One and Two have now been completed and may be ordered from the Centre for Mennonite Brethren Studies in Canada for \$50.00 per volume plus handling.

In this issue (page 6) of the *Bulletin*, we print an address of Sam Steiner, Conrad Grebel College archivist and Ontario Mennonite leader. Steiner spoke to the Mennonite Church Historical Association at Eugene, Oregon, August 1, 1991, and advocated more openness to homosexuality, a topic on which many of us disagree. Our editorial position is to support the Mennonite Church affirmation of Scripture that homosexual practice is outside of God's will. However, in respect to dissenting views, we print the article in full. 

Lancaster County, Pennsylvania

By Steve Nolt

Although Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, may not be the largest Mennonite community in North America, it is one of the most diverse. The 34,000 Mennonite, Amish, and Brethren in Christ church members here make up only about 14 percent of Lancaster County's total population and find themselves in more than 20 different groups.

Weekly, Lancaster County Mennonites worship in English, German, Hmong and Spanish. All totaled, they represent about 12 percent of all Mennonites, Amish and Brethren in Christ in the United States as listed in the 1990 *Mennonite World Handbook*.

Mennonite settlement in what is now Lancaster County began in 1710, two decades before the County itself was established. Most of the Mennonites and Amish immigrants arrived before 1770, although the first half of the nineteenth century saw some European Amish and Mennonites settling here, too.

Lancaster Mennonites and Amish later settled throughout North America, notably in Ontario, Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, and Kansas.

Begun about 1780 in Lancaster County, the River Brethren (spiritual ancestors of the Brethren in Christ) spread from here through the Midwest, Ontario and California.

Because Lancaster County is home to such a sizable Mennonite community and because the area was the "parent" of dozens of other Mennonite, Amish and Brethren in Christ congregations in other parts of North America, historical interest in and among Lancaster Mennonites has always been rather high.

The resources available to those interested in Mennonite history are as old, diverse, and far-ranging in this area as the groups themselves are.

Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society, Library and Archives

The largest of the Lancaster County Mennonite groups, the Mennonite Church's Lancaster Conference, has

been officially sponsoring historical research since 1958. From its headquarters in east-central Lancaster County, the Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society (2215 Millstream Road, Lancaster, PA 17602), operates a broad range of programs. Its hours to researchers are Tuesday through Saturday from 8:30 A.M. to 4:30 P.M.

Director Carolyn Charles Wenger oversees the dozen staff members and more than 50 volunteers who make the Society's vast program resources work. Wenger also serves as archivist for the Lancaster Mennonite Conference and Atlantic Coast Mennonite Conference holdings which are also housed at the Society headquarters.

Currently, one of her most important projects involves a building addition which will more than double the existing headquarters structure. Having outgrown its current 27-year-old facility, the Society has become more and more hampered by limited office, archival, open stacks, and large meeting room space. Wenger hopes that construction can begin in October, 1991, and be completed by late next Spring. Eighty-nine percent of a half-million-dollar building-maintenance endowment is also on hand.

Support for the historical program comes from the Lancaster Mennonite Conference (seven percent of the Conference's total budget), book sales and auctions, and the Society's membership. The Society's membership of over 2,500 comes from nearly every state and province in North America as well as several overseas countries.

Many members are Mennonites interested in their church's past. Others are persons interested in Mennonite genealogy and their connection with it. Of the more than 3,000 visitors the Society receives each year, about four-fifths are interested in genealogy, according to Society historian and genealogist David Rempel Smucker.

The library's holdings are only about one-tenth family histories, however. Librarian Lloyd Zeager reports more than 8,000 volumes of Mennonite and regional Pennsylvania

history. Additionally, the library houses nearly as many titles of theology.

The Society publishes the quarterly journal *Pennsylvania Mennonite Heritage*. The magazine, edited by Rempel Smucker, serves evenly both the church history and genealogical interests of its membership. For persons especially interested in Mennonite history, the Society sponsors free quarterly lectures and occasional seminars related to the church's past.

Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society also publishes a series of original source documents important to Mennonite historiography. The "Tennessee" John Stoltzfus Amish church papers as well as a new English translation of the Dordrecht Confession have been released. To be published are a study of Amish folk artist Barbara Ebersol's surviving works and the English translation of several very important collections of colonial Mennonite congregational records.

The Society also owns the Ressler Music Library. Martin E. Ressler's lifetime collecting of church music yielded nearly 4,500 volumes—the largest single private music library in the United States. Nearly every Mennonite Church music publication as well as English and German music from other Mennonite groups are now available to researchers.

Hans Herr House Museum

In Willow Street, the 1719 Hans Herr House Museum (1849 Hans Herr Drive, Willow Street, PA 17584) interprets colonial Mennonite life through the oldest surviving Mennonite meetinghouse in America. Built as a private residence by the first Mennonite settlers in Lancaster County and used as a place of worship, Lancaster Mennonite Historical Society has restored and furnished the structure to 1750.

Director Martin Franke and a staff of volunteer guides and assistants give 7,000 visitors a year a glimpse of

colonial Mennonite life. An on-site agricultural museum, "Faith and Furrow," explains Mennonite rural life through the late nineteenth century. The Hans Herr House is open April through December, 9 A.M. to 4 P.M.

Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) Headquarters

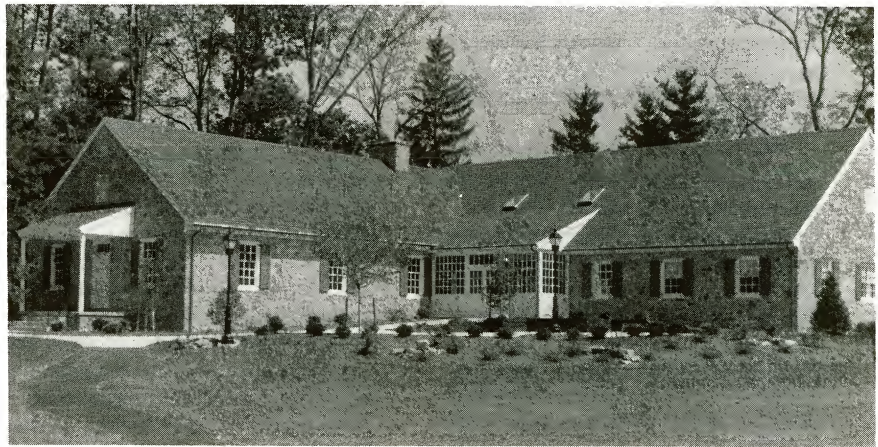
Since 1935, Akron, in northern Lancaster County, has been the headquarters of Mennonite Central Committee (21 South 12th Street, Akron, PA 17501). Although older files of MCC material are stored at the Archives of the Mennonite Church in Goshen Indiana, the most recent 10 years' records are kept at Akron. Additionally, MCC headquarters maintains a complete library of works related to relief work, international politics, and the church in all parts of the world. Researchers of North American Mennonite overseas history should not miss the sizable collection maintained in Akron.

Muddy Creek Farm Library

Those interested in Old Order Mennonite history will find rich resources in the home and person of Old Order Mennonite historian and book collector Amos B. Hoover of Denver. His Muddy Creek Farm Library (R 3, Box 357, Denver, PA 17517), open by appointment, has collected a wealth of Mennonitica for three and a half decades. Original Anabaptist and Mennonite printed works, old order letter and diary collections, as well as Mennonite writings and history from the modern era all amount to over 14,000 volumes.

Hoover himself was instrumental in negotiating the Mennonite purchase of the Jan Luyken Martyrs Mirror plates which are now touring North America. Muddy Creek Library owns one of the first seven plates purchased in 1977.

Hoover's interest in Old Order history does not stop with book collecting. He has researched and edited the writings of Pennsylvania Old Order leader Jonas Martin and the 1893 Lancaster schism. Recently, Hoover has completed an English translation of Jacob Stauffer's 1850 (published 1855) Chronicle. Stauffer led the first American Old Order schism when he and others left the Lancaster Conference in 1845.



Young Center for the Study of Anabaptist and Pietist Groups. Photo: Young Center

The People's Place

The People's Place (Main Street, Intercourse, PA 17534) is a Mennonite and Amish cultural center in Intercourse. Directed by Merle and Phyllis Pellman Good, the center has a quilt museum, art gallery, various shops and a book publishing program—Good Books. Persons with interests in Lancaster County's Old Order groups will also want to contact Stephen Scott, a researcher and writer at the Center. A member of the Old Order River Brethren, Scott has a wide and detailed knowledge of origins, customs, and migrations of Old Order groups.

Pequea Bruderschaft Library

Lancaster's Old Order Amish heritage is kept alive at the Pequea Bruderschaft Library (176 N. Hollander Rd., Gordonville, PA 17529) near Gordonville. Like most other aspects of Amish life which are home-centered, the library itself was kept in a member's house until a year ago. In a new building since November, 1990, the library now houses an estimated more than 1,000 volumes, including periodicals. The library is open Saturdays from 9 A.M. to 3 P.M. or weekdays by appointment.

Officially begun in 1984, the library is managed by seven directors who hold open, quarterly meetings. The directors approve the addition of new titles and manage the library's donation-generated budget.

Last year Pequea Bruderschaft Library published its first book, *Early Amish Land Grants in Berks County,*

Pennsylvania, a large land index with accompanying detailed maps. Berks County was the home of the first Amish in America.

The library receives both Amish and non-Amish guests. Many visitors are interested in genealogy or rare Amish-produced publications. The library building itself also is home to the Nickolas Stoltzfus Chest. In 1766 the trunk served the needs of the immigrant Stoltzfus family on their trip from Zweibrücken, Germany, to Philadelphia. The Lancaster Amish community is very happy to be able to display the chest at their Pequea facility.

Young Center for the Study of Anabaptist and Pietist Groups

The most recent addition to Mennonite studies in Lancaster County has been the Young Center for the Study of Anabaptist and Pietist Groups at Elizabethtown College (One Alpha Drive, Elizabethtown, PA 17022). Located in northwestern Lancaster County, on the campus of a Church of the Brethren college, the Young Center fosters the study of a wide variety of groups, including Brethren, Mennonite, Amish, and Brethren in Christ, and Methodist groups. With its projects, the Young Center also tries to complement and integrate the on-campus academic disciplines of anthropology, history, religion and sociology.

Center director and sociologist Donald Kraybill works with Brethren historian and religionist Donald Durnbaugh, archivist Hedda

Durnbaugh, and resident fellows in Anabaptist-Pietist research. Center faculty and fellows teach credit courses and present public lectures and seminars.

The Center itself is housed in a multi-purpose building, part of which is a re-created colonial Brethren meetinghouse. The Center also works closely with its host college's High Library and that building's Brethren Heritage Room. These collections include large holdings of books, periodicals, and archival materials pertinent to Anabaptist and Pietist studies. Much of the program of the Young Center, however, is carried out through the work of the faculty and fellows themselves.

In November, 1991, the Center will host church musicologist Alice Parker. Historian Roscoe Hinkle will study and lecture on Brethren pacifism during World War II. The spring of 1992 will find Dennis Slabaugh, Hamburg, Germany, as a Young Center Fellow working with "radical

reformation" studies. The Center welcomes applications for future Center fellows.

Two future events of special interest at the Center are the Brethren World Assembly and a major conference on the Amish. The first-ever Brethren World Assembly will gather at Elizabethtown College in July, 1992—two hundred fifty years after the first Brethren annual meeting took place in Lancaster County in 1742. In 1993 the Young Center will mark the anniversary of Amish church beginnings with an international conference, "Amish Society: Three Hundred Years of Persistence and Change."

Persons interested in the work of the Young Center should call during weekday business hours.

Ephrata Cloister

While in Lancaster County, those interested in Mennonite history will also want to visit at least one other site. The Ephrata Cloister (632 West Main

Street, Ephrata, PA 17522) is a state-owned and operated museum showcasing the life of the Seventh-Day German Baptist Brethren—a mystical, monastic movement led by one-time Brethren minister Conrad Beissel. The museum is open daily 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. and Sundays, noon to 5 P.M.

Besides attracting a number of Mennonites to join its cloister, the community at Ephrata also finds a place in the pages of Mennonite lore because the communal group translated and published the 1748/49 edition of the *Martyrs Mirror* for colonial Mennonites. Caught in a rising Native American/colonist war fever, Pennsylvania Mennonites turned to the Ephrata commune to produce a German-language printing of van Bracht's tome. The Mennonites believed that martyr stories taught nonresistance, and the colonial preference for German instead of Dutch was rendering European Dutch editions of the martyr book obsolete.

Brethren in Christ Resources

In nearby Cumberland County is the destination for those interested in Brethren in Christ history. The Archives of the Brethren in Christ General Conference (Messiah College, Grantham, PA 17027) have been storing records and documents there since 1952. The Brethren in Christ's Messiah College houses the archives and Messiah's professor of history E. Morris Sider serves as archivist. Sider also edits the BIC historical journal *Brethren in Christ History and Life*. Sider's most recent assignment is his accepting the position of editor of the forthcoming *Brethren in Christ Encyclopedia*.

Groups in and around Lancaster County have been actively preserving Mennonite, Amish, and Brethren in Christ history for more than three decades. With the recent addition of new resources and the expansion of those already in place, the 1990s should be a time of growth for Mennonite studies in this small part of the Mennonite world. *✠*

Steve Nolt works for The People's Place, an Amish and Mennonite information and arts Center in Lancaster County.

Mennonites, Amish, and Brethren in Christ in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, 1990

Group	membership	congregations
Mennonite		
GC Mennonite, Eastern District, only	509	3
MC, Atlantic Coast Conference, only	1,906	8
GC/MC Dual Conference (ED/ACC)	434	2
MC, Lancaster Conference	11,635	84
Eastern Pennsylvania Mennonite Church	912	9
Mid-Atlantic Mennonite Church	384	4
Independent or Fellowship Mennonite	390	7
Old Order Menno. (Weaverland Conference)	2,529	12
Old Order Menno. (Groffdale Conference)	2,679	10
Old Order Mennonite (Stauffer)	322	4
Old Order Mennonite (Reidenbach)	200	5
Reformed Mennonite	68	1
Amish		
Old Order Amish	7,600	93
New Order Amish (Zook, carriage driving)	175	2
New Order Amish (independent, automobile)	356	5
Beachy Amish Mennonite	599	4
River Brethren		
Brethren in Christ	3,040	16
Old Order River Brethren	97	2
United Zion Churches	660	8

Statistics from Stephen Scott, researcher, The People's Place, Intercourse, Pennsylvania.

Nunemaker's Voyage

By Maynard Miller

One of the efforts made to alleviate some of the ravages that the war left on Europe following World War II was the exportation of a variety of livestock. The cargo was usually mares and heifers, but also included some mules and occasionally chickens.

The project was organized by Brethren Service, the relief arm of the Church of the Brethren, in conjunction with United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Act Agency (UNRAA). Many of the attendants were on CPS assignment but many non-CPS men volunteered specifically for that job. It is estimated that over 500 Mennonite men served in this assignment at one time or another.¹ Those who went were paid \$150 by UNRAA.

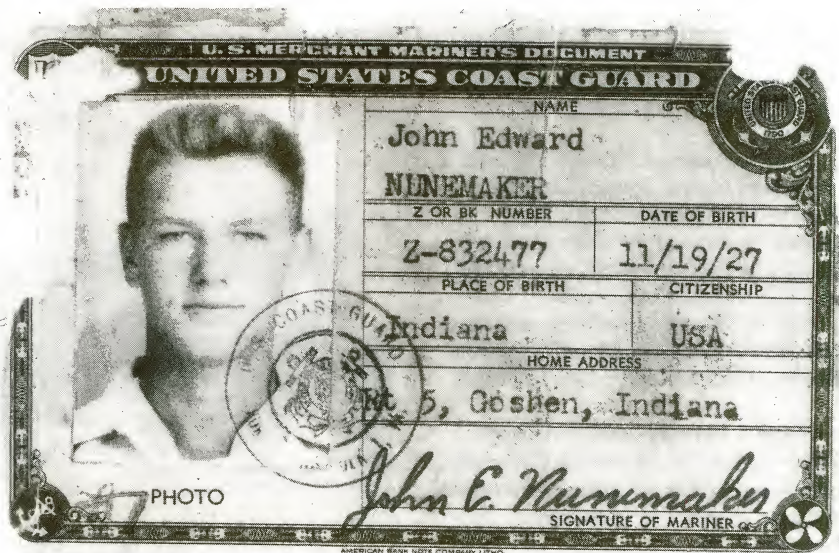
One of the non-CPS men who made the voyage was 18-year-old John Nunemaker. Too young to have been drafted, his father encouraged him to take the opportunity to become a "sea-going cowboy," as the attendants were called.

He left Goshen, his hometown, on August 28, 1946, for Newport News, Virginia. Bound for Danzig, Poland, he was one of 27 livestock attendants for a shipload of 770 horses. He was gone about six weeks.

Nunemaker recalls getting "the biggest shock of my life" upon meeting the crew of the ship, whose lifestyles were quite a change from the rural Goshen community. Apparently with this in mind, Melvin Gingerich notes: "The opportunities for witnessing were great but the temptations were equally great."² But, for the most part, sailors and the "farm boys" did not mix.

Nunemaker worked about 16 hours a day travelling to Europe but the return trip provided much leisure time. The horses were closely confined, and tended to get quite restless. Those in the crew who were from farms were able to take the work in stride, but Nunemaker recalls that "the city boys had big problems."

Nunemaker met up with a moral dilemma even before he left the United States. He had to sign up with the



John Edward Nunemaker: A "sea-going cowboy's" uneasy identity. Photo: Archives of the Mennonite Church

Coast Guard, something that he was not sure that he wanted to do. As a pacifist, he felt uneasy about being identified as a member of a law-enforcement body.

Because of an interest in Mennonite history, Nunemaker was particularly happy to learn that his destination was Danzig, a Polish Mennonite settlement.

He kept a daily journal during his trip, most of it a practical record of his day-to-day activities. Following are some excerpts from that journal. The original was recently placed in the Archives of the Mennonite Church.

August 29, Thursday. Arrived at Newport News, Virginia, at 3:30 P.M. Went to pier and reported, then slept at YMCA.

Sept 3. Went to Brethren Service to hear who would go on next ship. I just made it. Went to UNRAA and received tetanus shot and signed on ship at noon.

Sept. 4. Got up at 6:00 and fed horses. Have 43 horses to take care of with Jim Hoffman. Saw one of our horses from home, "Queen," in my hold. [The Nunemakers had sold this horse some eight months earlier in Goshen.] Dinner at 12:30, supper at 5:00. Finished at 9:00 for night. Sailed at 3:00 PM.

Sept. 5. Rained at 2:00 in night and the Super woke us up to cover hatches. Started being seasick and did not eat all day. Lost first horse.

Sept. 13, Friday. Saw land for first time. Saw many sunken ships, have to travel in sea lane because of mines.

Sept. 14, Saturday. In North Sea along the Netherlands coast. Got to Kiel Canal at 9:00 in evening. Took 5 German pilots on board and all spoke good English.

Sept. 15, Sunday. Saw city of Kiel in morning. Country beautiful. Saw Denmark and Sweden, and many sunken ships in Kiel harbor. German farmers were doing fall plowing.

Sept. 16, Monday. Arrived in Novaport, about 6 miles from Danzig. Tug came and pulled us into port at 2:00 P.M.

Sept. 17, Tuesday. Went to Danzig and saw a whole city bombed out. Kids and men followed us all over Danzig. Saw many wrecked tanks and an anti-aircraft gun.

Sept. 19, Thursday. Sailed [for home] at 9:00 in the morning. We just heard that we are getting into a hurricane, the waves are dashing across bow and midship. Ship rises and lowers about 35 ft. on each wave. Wind 60 miles per hour.

Sept. 20, Friday. After supper tonight a group of us got to talking religion and had some good arguments. Saw a Liberty ship that we gave to Russia in canal and they had women seamen aboard. Don't have to work during day. Received radiogram that we hold the record for least horses lost: seven.

Sept 29, Sunday. Had church at 9:00. Church lasted about 1 1/2 hours. Even had our two mess boys there. First time in 10 years they were to church.

Oct. 1, Tuesday. We sighted land [Newport News] about 11:00 and dropped anchor at about 3:00 in afternoon. Have received my stuff I bought in Poland from Customs and will get on shore tomorrow.

Oct. 2, Wednesday. Went ashore at 8:00. Checked baggage and went to Brethren Service and received check.

After a few days spent visiting Washington D.C., a nearby CPS camp, and Niagara Falls, Nunemaker returned home to Elkhart, Indiana, on October 6. *D*

Maynard Miller was a student assistant in the Archives of the Mennonite Church in the Fall of 1990.

¹ John D. Unruh, *In the Name of Christ: A History of the Mennonite Central Committee*, (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press. 1952), p. 228.

² Melvin Gingerich, *Service for Peace*, (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press. 1949), p. 189.



Heifers unloaded at the docks of Danzig, Poland, in 1946. Photo: United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

Mennonite Historical Bulletin
Historical Committee of the Mennonite Church
1700 South Main Street
Goshen, IN 46526-4796
Telephone 219 535 7477
Forward and Address Correction

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